WILLIAM GREIDER ON DAVID STOCKMAN'S FOLLY

The Nation.

OBAMA'S COMMUNITY ROOTS
David Moberg

ARE HUMAN RIGHTS A LOST CAUSE?
Samuel Moyn

THE NEW SDS

CHRISTOPHER PHELPS

APRIL 16, 2007
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LETTERS

R.O. BLECHMAN

DEFERENCE WHERE IT'S DUE

Santa Monica, Calif.

■ So Ari Berman thinks, "The rap on Baucus is that he has always valued his own re-election above all else" ["K Street's Favorite Democrat," March 19]. That is the rap on politicians, all politicians. Trying to make it a rap on an individual politician is one of the willful distortions Berman uses to try to make Max Baucus look like a bad senator. Another is calling it "remarkable" that chairman Baucus shows "deference" to the senior Republican during Finance Committee hearings. In our interview for this article, I told Ari that every Finance chair has always shown deference to the senior member of the minority party during hearings.

Nation readers should not be surprised to learn that Democratic senators from Montana do not vote like Democratic senators from Massachusetts. Montana would not have two Democratic senators now if Max Baucus had not spent decades teaching Montana voters that they did not have to be afraid of sending Democrats to Washington. And if Montana didn't have two Democratic senators today, then Berman would be watching Republican chairman Grassley being deferential to Senator Baucus in Finance Committee hearings.

LAWRENCE O'DONNELL JR.

DEPARTMENT OF INJUSTICE

Tampa, Fla.

■ Alexander Cockburn, in "The Persecution of Sami Al-Arian" [March 19], is correct that "across the globe, Al-Arian's case has aroused much outrage." In February I was in Oslo, where a documentary about the trial and its effect on the Al-Arian family opened in theaters. Norwegians are hot under the collar about America's treatment of Dr. Al-Arian and can't believe the degree to which Americans have allowed their government to erode civil liberties. The film was screened in Parliament, hosted by two MPs, who said of Dr. Al-Arian's treatment, "We don't like to see people have their human rights treated this way."

Amnesty International Norway hosted the Al-Arian family at the Nobel Peace Center, where Gerald Folkvord said Amnesty believes the United States has subjected Al-Arian to "cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment. This very much looked like just a means of punishing him for his attitudes" as an activist for the Palestinian people. In a February letter to Attorney General Alberto Gonzales, Susan Lee of Amnesty International wrote that the way the US government is treating Dr. Al-Arian "is in breach of the USA's obligations under international standards and treaties" and that his conditions "appear to be unacceptably harsh and punitive."

Cockburn mentions Assistant US Attorney Gordon Kromberg's racist statements about Dr. Al-Arian. In her letter to Gonzales, Lee says that Kromberg's anti-Islamic sentiment "raises further concern as to whether the proceedings are being taken to punish [Al-Arian] for his political profile rather than for legitimate purposes." A disturbing pattern of bias against Muslims and disdain for accepted legal principles by Kromberg is detailed in an article in the current issue of *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* (wrmea.com).

It is time that Attorney General Gonzales keeps his word by allowing Dr. Al-Arian to be released and deported as per the plea agreement.

SEÁN KINANE

THE DAYS OF NORMA RAE

Highland Heights, Ky.

■ As a writer who has two books in print discussing more than 500 films about labor, class and related topics, such as globalization, I read Robert Nathan and Jo-Ann Mort's "Remembering Norma Rae" [March 12] with great interest but with some trepidation, especially since the article is mainly about Hollywood films. Not all of the films I cite pack the punch of *Norma Rae* or *Bread and Roses*, but quite a few deliver the goods, including those that dramatize labor worldwide. High on my must-see list are the following, a number of which are documentaries or foreign films: *And the Earth Did Not Swallow Him*, *The Burning Season*, *Boys From the Blackstuff*, *The City*, *Darwin's Nightmare*, *Dirt*, *Enron: The Smartest Guys in the Room*, *The Killing Floor*, *Mardi Gras: Made in China*, *Mojados*, *El Norte*, *Picture Bride*, *Silkwood*, *The Take*, *Workingman's Death*. They make the global workforce visible and are by filmmakers who are also in the social change business.

TOM ZANIELLO

Kanawha, Iowa

■ I was looking for a mention of the 1987 John Sayles film *Matewan*. It's another movie about unions that might fit into this discussion. The ending is more downbeat than that of *Norma Rae*, but it is a positive portrayal also rooted in history.

BERT STEVENS

La Crosse, Wis.

■ "Remembering Norma Rae" omits cinema's greatest film about organized labor, *On the Waterfront*, directed by Elia Kazan. Kazan had starred, with Lee J. Cobb, in Clifford Odets's 1935 play *Waiting for Lefty*, for which Odets was redbaited. Though performed regularly, the play has defied even today's crop of independent filmmakers, like John Sayles. It would be a project worthy of Nick Kazan or Sayles to make a film of this wondrous play.

DAVID BLACKEY

Los Angeles

■ Could *Fast Food Nation* be considered a movie that looks into the status of workers and how corporations function? Of course, it wasn't *Norma Rae*, but it was great to hear applause after the movie ended.

M. MUTT

San Francisco

■ As a former union organizer, I look for positive representations of working-class people, and their struggles, on television. And while this is rare, there is currently a fantastic show about the glory of a hard day's work, *Dirty Jobs*. While I have never seen a union aspect of the working men and women portrayed on the show, the reality is bold-faced and beautiful. We now live in a society where we consider being a mid-management paper-pusher more integral to the world and more dignified than the work done by those folks who actually impact the world around them. And that's what *Dirty Jobs* is all about. The show's tag line says it all: "I explore the country looking for people who aren't afraid to get dirty—hard-working men and women who earn an honest living doing the kinds of jobs that make civilized life possible for the rest of us."

PETER MASIAK

Plant City, Fla.

■ As a nonunion type and staunch critic of unions in general and union corruption and union violence specifically, I nonetheless truly enjoyed *Norma Rae*, and can't pass it up whenever it appears while I'm channel-surfing. The movie captures the essence of what unions once were and ought to be.

SCOTT BERNARD

New York City

■ Thanks to Robert Nathan and Jo-Ann Mort for reminding us of *Norma Rae*, a treasure in the small archive of Hollywood movies about labor and labor struggles. Given the decline in labor's power and influence, it's not likely we'll see a renaissance of films in this genre anytime soon. But that doesn't mean the working class is invisible in contemporary films. In recent years we've seen a number of films that portray the working class: *8 Mile*, *Million Dollar Baby*, *Friday Night Lights*, *Monster*, *North Country* and *Brokeback Mountain*.

Such films show the working-class experience, but the results are mixed. Of those mentioned, only *8 Mile*, set in a depressed section of

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EDITORIALS

A Wider Corruption

Whether Alberto Gonzales clears out his desk now or in a month is a technicality. His tenure as US Attorney General is over. The release in late March of a document that places him at a meeting to discuss the dismissal of US Attorneys—contradicting his earlier statements that he never participated in such conversations—adds significantly to the evidence that Gonzales lied about his involvement in the firings and their political motivation. At this writing, at least two Republican senators are openly calling for Gonzales's resignation. It is impossible to imagine his regaining the trust of Congress and the respect of Justice Department professionals.

The US Attorneys scandal is at once particular to the Justice Department and part of a much broader picture. The narrow scandal—the subject of scheduled testimony by Gonzales scapegoat Kyle Sampson and of Senate subpoenas to top White House staff—is bad enough: The allegation that Gonzales fired US Attorneys who would not elevate politics above professionalism goes to the heart of public safety and the rule of law. By itself, this scandal should finish not just Gonzales but Karl Rove, Bush's top political operative, and Harriet Miers, his former White House counsel, and anyone else involved. They all deserve investigation, and probably indictments.

But facts keep turning up, like jigsaw-puzzle pieces under the living-room couch, that fit into that even more alarming picture. In this bigger frame, the US Attorneys are but one example of how the Administration has undermined professionals and career civil servants throughout the federal bureaucracy. In these pages last fall, investigative journalist Dan Zegart detailed Bush team efforts to extend direct political control not only at the Justice Department but also deep into agencies where the White House has strong policy interests, such as the Food and Drug Administration, the Environmental Protection Agency and the Interior Department [see "The Gutting of the Civil Service," November 20]. In virtually every agency, Bush political appointees have undermined experts' rulings and recommendations on matters including drug safety, civil rights, tobacco litigation and air pollution enforcement while pushing a political agenda. And those efforts continue up to the present; the *Washington Post* reported on March 26 that witnesses have told Congressional investigators that the chief of the General Services Administration and a deputy in Rove's office joined in a late-January videoconference to discuss ways to help Republican candidates in the next elections.

In light of this pattern, cast a glance back from the US Attorneys scandal through Gonzales's tenure as AG and White House counsel. Look back from the prosecutors he fired to the memos he commissioned on the Geneva Conventions and Guantánamo. Just as Gonzales once tried to redefine torture as not torture, he now tries to define political firings as not political and not firings. In this picture Gonzales is not merely a deferential retainer or simply serving a controversial theory of presidential power; he is the active agent of a campaign to distort and subvert the purposes of the Justice Department and the plain language of federal statutes.

It's time to retire the bromide that Gonzales survives as Attorney General because of President Bush's loyalty to subordinates. The Gonzales Eight were loyal—loyal officers of the Constitution. Their firings, facilitated by the President's two closest legal advisers and his chief political adviser, fit into a pattern of government agencies turned on their heads; of presidential powers abused in the service of political ambition; of public interest, civil rights and law itself made subordinate to the creation of a permanent GOP patronage machine. This is slavishness to a party and its supporters, not loyalty to the country and its citizens.

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A Turning Point

The nation has arrived at an important political moment, a turning point in Congressional efforts to confront the President on his failed war. The House has passed, and as we went to press the Senate was on its way to passing, military spending bills that include benchmarks and timelines for bringing the troops home.

These actions did not come about simply because members of Congress suddenly saw the folly of Bush's war. Rather, they occurred because politicians listened to their constituents: the antiwar activists once dismissed as unpatriotic or worse, the parents whose sons and daughters are being forced to return to Iraq for second and third tours of duty, the ordinary citizens who no longer believe the lies of the Administration about why we invaded Iraq or why we need to stay. Nebraska Democrat Ben Nelson, who had refused to support a withdrawal date just two weeks earlier, was among those who voted to reject a Republican effort to strip the timeline from the Senate spending bill. His explanation for the change of heart? "People want our troops home." The earfuls Nelson and others are hearing in their districts are reinforced by the findings of a new Pew Research poll, which reports that 59 percent of Americans surveyed want their representative to support withdrawal by August 2008.

To be sure, the votes were not easy ones, given the bills' uncertain benchmarks and the fact that their main focus was on providing yet more money for the Administration's war effort. Some antiwar members in the House simply could not bring themselves to join the razor-thin 218–212 majority. We respect those, like Congressman John Lewis, who told the House, "I will not and cannot vote for another dollar or another dime to support this war." But we also understand the sentiments of those like Representative Maurice Hinchey, who voted in favor. Had the House not passed the bill, Hinchey said, "Congress would have essentially been forced to hand the President a massive check to continue the occupation of Iraq with no benchmarks for success and no timeline for withdrawal."

The two chambers will have to reconcile bills that, while similar in intent, differ in specifics. But it is now all but certain that whatever version goes to the President will contain some form of deadline and benchmarks. Bush says he will veto a bill that seeks to tie his hands, and there's little question that a veto would be sustained, given the narrow margins of victory in both houses. Whether the two sides will decide to compromise or pursue a showdown remains to be seen.

But whatever happens from here on, a significant marker has been laid down. The House and Senate bills put Congress at the table for the first time since this war began, and offer the first Congressional challenge to Bush's warmaking. The task now for progressives is to continue to push in every way possible for a speedy end to the war, moving ever-greater numbers of members of Congress into the column of those whose consciences no longer allow them to support anything but swift withdrawal. That is now the essential struggle for all who hold out the hope that this war will yet end before the finish of George Bush's presidency.

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COMMENT

Attorneygate in Guam

Before Attorneygate, there was Guam. Back in the spring of 2002, when Guam's then-Governor, Carl Gutierrez, found himself in the cross-hairs of a federal corruption probe, he hired disgraced über-lobbyist Jack Abramoff to force out the US territory's longtime acting US Attorney, Frederick Black. "I don't care if they appoint bozo the clown, we need to get rid of Fred Black," Abramoff wrote to colleagues in March 2002. Eventually Black, a well-regarded prosecutor who'd held the position since 1991, began investigating Abramoff for a $324,000 contract the lobbyist had received from Guam's highest court—and asked for Washington's assistance. The Justice Department forwarded the information to then–White House counsel Alberto Gonzales. Instead of receiving help, Black was pushed out of his job [see "Can Justice Be Trusted?" February 20, 2006].

The same fate would later befall eight other US Attorneys, dislodged from their posts this past December. But it's not only the pattern that's similar. Many of the Administration officials playing starring roles in Attorneygate—including Attorney General Gonzales, Deputy Attorney General Paul McNulty and former Gonzales chief of staff Kyle Sampson—also had a hand in the dismissal of the US Attorney in Guam.

Black's allegations of his politically motivated ouster were the subject of a report by the DOJ's Inspector General last June, which found no evidence of foul play. But the IG report, which leaned heavily on Administration testimony, including that of the now-discredited Sampson, failed to include crucial information backing up Black's claims. For example, while the report stated that the White House had decided to replace Black with Assistant US Attorney Leonard Rapadas in March 2002, other evidence suggests that it was only after Black began his aggressive pursuit of Abramoff later that year that a decision was made to install Rapadas—the nephew, as it happened, of a major figure in the Gutierrez investigation. David Sablan, who headed the Guam Republican Party at the time, says he received a call in September 2002 from a DOJ lawyer named Juan Carlos Benitez, who told him that "Rapadas was *not* selected for the US Attorney position out here and that I was to come up with another person or persons for the position." Benitez, who subsequently went to work at the lobbying firm Cassidy & Associates, where Abramoff landed briefly in 2004, says he does not recall the conversation, and has since been publicly circulating letters of support for Gonzales.

On November 7 Black informed the DOJ of his preliminary investigation of Abramoff. Days later, Guam's new Republican Governor, Felix Camacho, wrote a letter to the White House asking to keep Black on. Yet on November 19, a day after Black subpoenaed the Abramoff contract, the Administration announced that it was nominating Rapadas. Black was subsequently barred from handling any public corruption cases. Did Black's Abramoff probe resurrect and fast-track Rapadas's nomination and seal his departure? That central matter in the IG inquiry remains unsettled today. "I just wonder whether they wanted to prevent Fred Black from staying on," says Sablan.

Black's story parallels that of dismissed US Attorney Carol Lam in San Diego, who successfully prosecuted Congressman Duke Cunningham on bribery charges. Kyle Sampson, who called for Lam's firing a day after she pursued search warrants for a top GOP military contractor and CIA official, also oversaw the ouster of Black, according to the IG's report.

The apparent purging of Black at Abramoff's behest demonstrates the clout the lobbyist wielded at both the DOJ and the White House. Then–White House political director Ken Mehlman, the recent chairman of the Republican National Committee, told White House official Leonard Rodriguez, a protégé of Karl Rove, to "reach out to make Jack aware" of all Guam-related information, including candidates for US Attorney, according to the IG report. In May 2002 Abramoff used his influence to kill a risk-assessment report of Guam and the neighboring Northern Marianas Islands (CNMI), requested by Black, that called for federalizing immigration laws on the islands, a move that might have jeopardized the influx of cheap labor to CNMI and Abramoff's $1.6 million lobbying contract with its local government. Abramoff learned of the report from John Ashcroft's then–chief of staff, David Ayres, whom he hosted at a Washington Redskins game. "We'll hope that higher ups will take some time to squash this," Abramoff wrote. Sure enough, the report never came out, and the DOJ demoted its author, regional security specialist Robert Meissner.

At the time, Meissner's boss was then–US Attorney for Eastern Virginia Paul McNulty, who has since risen to become Deputy Attorney General and a key player in Gonzales's embattled DOJ. A longtime Republican operative who served as spokesman for House Republicans during Bill Clinton's impeachment—and never tried a case before becoming US Attorney—McNulty now stands accused of misleading Congress about the reasons for the eight US Attorneys' dismissals. Meissner discussed his risk-assessment report with McNulty on multiple occasions and told several colleagues he believed McNulty helped suppress the report and curtail his career. "Bob told me he thought McNulty had everything to do with it," says one colleague of Meissner's in the Bush Administration with knowledge on Guam matters. Says another colleague, "McNulty was kind of the fireman at Justice. He was the guy trying to run around and put a lid on things that could become political, especially with Abramoff."

McNulty may have also intervened in the IG's investigation of Black's removal. According to sources close to the investigation, when Black contradicted Administration testimony, he was told by IG investigators, "That's not the scope we were given by DAG"—at the time, McNulty. McNulty's office declined to comment, and the IG's counsel, Cynthia Schnedar, says, "The conclusion we reached was a fair and appropriate one."

Sampson and McNulty were close to the heart of the Guam affair, but it's unlikely they were operating as rogue agents. Indeed, contained in the IG report is a startling admission. Sampson told the IG that after receiving permission from the DAG, AG and White House counsel to replace a US Attorney, "he would then discuss the US Attorney candidate recommendations with the President." After the Attorneygate scandal broke, Bush contradicted this, claiming that he "never brought up a specific case nor gave [Gonzales] specific instructions."

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COMMENT

Given these damning details, leading members of Congress, such as Representatives George Miller and Nick Rahall, say the probe into the fired US Attorneys must be widened to include the circumstances surrounding the demotions of Black and Meissner. And they doubt the ability of the DOJ to investigate itself. "It is necessary now to re-examine this case," they wrote in a letter to the House and Senate Judiciary Committee chairs on March 13, "as it may represent the beginning of a pattern of behavior by…officials in the Bush Administration to politicize the work of US Attorneys and to quash their independence." ARI BERMAN

Ari Berman, a Nation *contributing writer, is a Puffin Foundation Writing Fellow at The Nation Institute.*

Betting on Healthcare

Las Vegas

Trying to push universal medical coverage to the top of the '08 agenda, the country's largest healthcare union, SEIU, summoned the candidates to a Sin City forum on the issue on March 24. And all of the Democratic contenders except Senator Joseph Biden showed up, not only to present their respective plans but also to court the crucial union vote.

The endorsement of organized labor, a powerful and growing force in Nevada politics, will be central to any Democratic candidate wishing to carry the state. With the January 19 Nevada primary coming second in the country—only five days after the kick-off Iowa caucuses—winning here could fuel momentum going into the mega–Super Tuesday of February 5, when Californians and as much as half the rest of the country will be voting.

The seven Democratic contenders who appeared before the crowd of 1,000 union activists and students at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, all vowed to provide affordable universal coverage if elected, but only former North Carolina Senator John Edwards presented a plan with any significant details. "One of the reasons that I want to be President of the United States is to make sure that every woman and every person in America gets the same kind of things that we have," Edwards said, referring to the recent announcement that his wife, Elizabeth, will be in cancer treatment for the rest of her life. Edwards was also the only candidate who unflinchingly supported a tax increase, which he said would be necessary to pay the $90-120 billion per year price tag on his plan. Anybody saying otherwise, he said, is likely trying to sell the voters "a bridge in Brooklyn." He proposed reaping that revenue by reversing the Bush Administration tax cuts for the wealthy. And in a moment that drew some of the loudest applause, Edwards challenged his rivals to be equally forthright: "I think the [next] President needs to be honest and that starts here."

Senator Hillary Clinton made an unusually spirited presentation, though one that was less specific than Edwards's, and she has not accepted the idea of raising taxes. She put her emphasis on legislation she is sponsoring that would prohibit discrimination against policyholders who have previous medical conditions. Senator Barack Obama, whose insurgent campaign has suffered from accusations of dealing too much in platitudes, came surprisingly unarmed with a specific plan. He insisted it was political leadership that counted, not a blueprint. "Every four years, somebody trots out a healthcare plan," he said. "The question is: Do we have the political will and sense of urgency to actually get it done? I want to be held accountable to get it done."

Despite differences in the Democrats' financing approaches, their unified vow to achieve universal coverage was sweet music to the ears of the forum organizers. The 1.8 million-member SEIU is the country's wealthiest PAC, and it makes no secret of wanting to use its clout to make universal healthcare central to the '08 campaign. "So far there's been lots of glitz and glamour and talk of Hollywood fundraisers," SEIU president Andy Stern said in an interview. "We intend to make this campaign about real issues."

SEIU was an early endorser of Howard Dean for 2004, and by the end of the general election had poured $65 million into Democratic campaigns. In the current cycle much of its leadership has been working closely, if quietly and unofficially, to build support for Edwards, whose economic-populist campaign resonates in union offices. SEIU has been vigorously promoting a recent poll it commissioned, which showed vast majorities of Democrats and Republicans listing healthcare reform as their top domestic priority, as well as supporting "fundamental" rather than "piecemeal" solutions. Earlier this year Stern recast the healthcare debate when he set up a reform alliance not only with another union but also with the CEOs of Wal-Mart, Intel and AT&T. "Employer-based healthcare is dead," said Stern. "It's a relic of the industrial era." Stern argues that American business can no longer compete globally if it must foot the bill for healthcare, making this a prime time to enlist corporate support for universal coverage.

John Podesta, former Clinton White House chief of staff and now head of the Center for American Progress, a co-sponsor of the Vegas forum, said that achieving healthcare reform is no longer just a "moral issue" but an "economic issue" as well. The big difference between 1994—when the Clinton healthcare initiative failed—and now, he said, "is that now business is on board."

Edwards's detailed plan came the closest to overlapping the reform vision coming from the SEIU. First unveiled earlier this year, the proposal calls for an expansion of both public and private health plans, asks employers either to provide healthcare or

CALVIN TRILLIN

What Congress Is Concluding About the Attorney General's Relationship With The Truth

Gonzales, who is called by George Bush Fredo,
Believes that facts are pliable, like Play-Doh.

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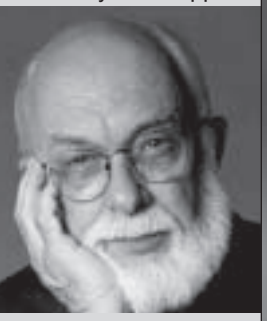
Important? Yes, very important.

Openly identifying as a nontheistic, humanistic American sends a message to the religious right and the American public, a message that religious conservatives have no monopoly on morals and values. The emergence of humanists in America will ensure rational public policy.

HUMANISM. Ethics. Reason. Progressive Values.

Ellery Schempp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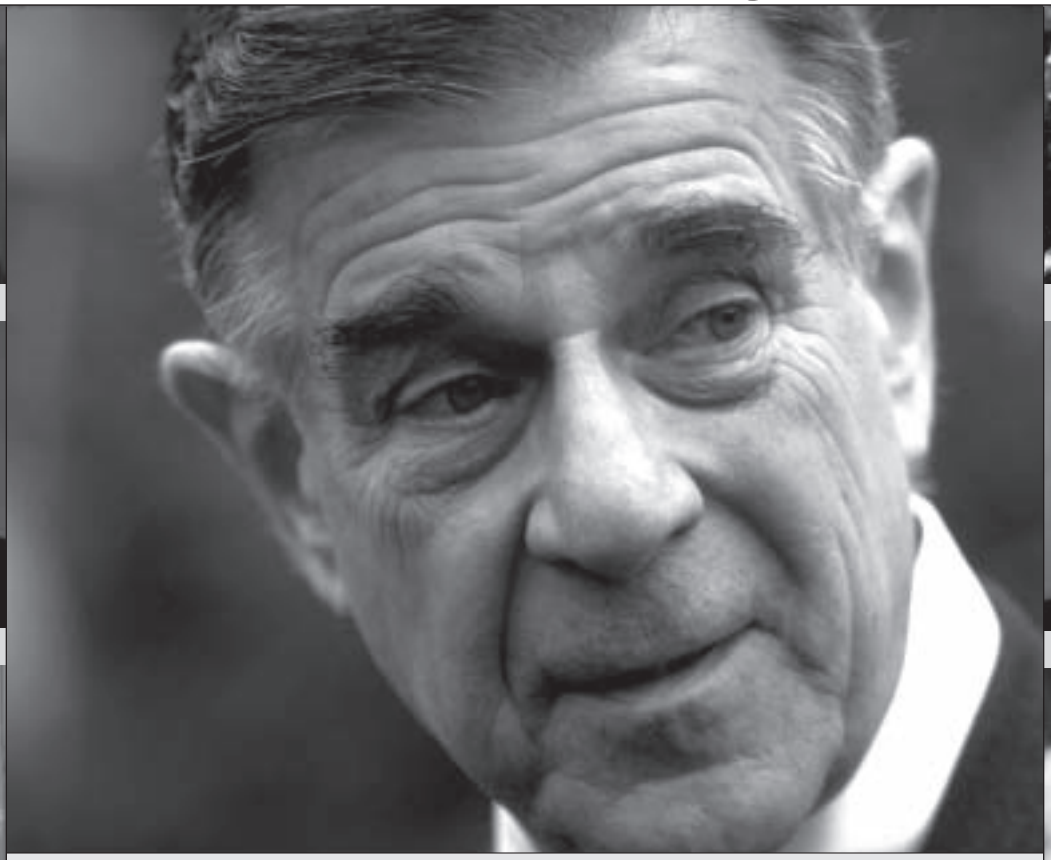

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COMMENT

pay into a fund that does, requires individuals to buy insurance and offers government subsidies for families with incomes of up to $80,000 who can't afford it. This sort of private/public mix is emerging among some progressives as the most logical, and most politically doable, step short of a government-underwritten single-payer system. "Single-payer is of course our gold standard," said one SEIU political organizer. "But we can't just do nothing before we get there." Representative Dennis Kucinich was the only candidate at the forum to propose a single-payer system, but he provided no details on how it would be achieved or financed.

"If the election were held today, we'd be supporting Edwards," said one leading West Coast SEIU official on hand for the forum. "When he comes into town, he asks what he can do for us. Hillary asks us what we can do for her." That sentiment, however, was contradicted by an unscientific sounding of the audience that elicited a pronounced preference for Clinton. A recent statewide poll of Nevada Democrats had Clinton leading with 32 percent, Obama at 20 percent and Edwards and former Vice President Al Gore tied at 11 percent.

In neighboring California, where the Democratic candidates are spending even more time (and mining millions in campaign cash), healthcare also looms as a major issue. Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger put the issue stage center earlier this year when he promised universal coverage before his term is up. California Democrats are also proposing a number of competing plans. The state's SEIU has praised all of the proposals but has yet to endorse any. The California Nurses Association has put its weight behind a single-payer proposal by State Senator Sheila Kuehl.

After the Las Vegas forum ended, Podesta and SEIU second-in-command Anna Burger said they were pleased that all the candidates offered specifics, but they expressed no preferences. Burger said SEIU isn't expected to make an endorsement until September and hasn't yet decided how much to spend on campaign '08. "But this time around," said Burger, "I can tell you it's not going to be anything less than $65 million." MARC COOPER

Marc Cooper, a Nation *contributing editor, is visiting professor and associate director at the USC Annenberg Institute for Justice and Journalism.*

Stockman's Folly

After all these years, will David Stockman go to jail for cooking the books? His criminal indictment for investment fraud suggests he might. He is charged with faking the accounting, concealing facts and lying in the failure of a Michigan auto-parts manufacturer his investment firm owned. The historic symmetry is irresistible for anyone who remembers Stockman as Ronald Reagan's brainy young budget director twenty-five years ago. Back then, he was accused of similar sleight of hand—cooking the numbers in the federal budget and generating the monster deficits that took twenty years to correct. Nobody went to jail, but it was a big deal at the time.

I had a supporting role in that drama. I was assistant managing editor for national news at the *Washington Post* and produced an article in *The Atlantic Monthly*, "The Education of David Stockman," that revealed with shocking candor Stockman's gimmicks and deceptions—and accumulating doubts—as he struggled to fulfill Reagan's impossible campaign promise: to slash taxes, double military spending and yet also balance the budget.

Couldn't happen, and it didn't. Stockman was a true believer at first, but he gradually lost faith as he juggled the numbers, trying to conceal the exploding deficits ahead. When my article produced a political firestorm, we were both in bad odor: two "bad boys" who broke Washington's rules. But the article was true, and Stockman never tried to run away from it. It remains (I immodestly suggest) a rare and honest account of the true nature of government decision-making—chaotic, cloaked in deceit and confusion, propelled sometimes by irrational political objectives. "None of us really understands what's going on with all these numbers," the budget director famously confided to me. True then and true now. Keep it in mind whenever you read the newspapers.

Possibly, the long-ago experience explains why I feel a need to say a few words in mitigation for Stockman in his present troubles. We were not pals then, nor are we now; more like intellectual sparring partners. I haven't talked with him in years. When I read the facts in his indictment, I can sense an obvious parallel with the past. His overabundant confidence and sense of rectitude may have allowed him to cut corners with a feeling of self-justification. Arrogant overreaching may have morphed into desperate manipulations. I don't know the facts of the present case and am prepared to accept the possibility that the prosecutors have him nailed. Still, I feel sympathy.

After making a fortune in Wall Street, Stockman launched Heartland Industrial Partners, a private-equity firm with a difference. His idea was to take over ailing midsized and small manufacturing firms in the Midwest, especially his home state of Michigan, and demonstrate that smart restructuring and fresh capital could make them viable again. Furthermore, he made clear to investors that, unlike the usual rip-and-run pirates, he intended to achieve this in a labor-friendly manner. Improbable as that sounds, the hard-nosed Reaganite made common cause with unions. Some of their pension funds became co-investors.

Leo Gerard, president of the Steelworkers union, was a fan. "David is buying controlling ownership of these companies, and he's actually turning them around, and he's not doing it by beating the shit out of the workers," Gerard told me. The approach worked in a number of instances, but then Stockman bought into the auto-parts industry. Hubris again? Collins & Aikman, the firm he acquired, was taken down by the implosion of GM, Ford and DaimlerChrysler, not different from what happened to other parts suppliers.

But Stockman wouldn't accept defeat without trying another last-ditch salvage, juggling creditors and suppliers in desperate, impromptu arrangements. Stupid arrogance or incautious loyalty to a cause? Either way, this is when he is said to have committed the fraud. We can leave the question to the federal courts. But whatever he did, Stockman didn't enrich himself, unlike other, more notorious financial buccaneers. He lost personally, and his firm kept pouring in capital and lost a couple of hundred million. Once again, I'm reminded of Clare Boothe Luce's wicked aphorism: "No good deed goes unpunished." WILLIAM GREIDER

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ALEXANDER COCKBURN

That Was an Antiwar Vote?

Has the end of America's war on Iraq been brought closer by the recent vote in the House of Representatives? On March 23 the full House voted 218 to 212 to set a timeline on the withdrawal of US troops, with September 1, 2008, as the putative date after which war funding might be restricted to withdrawal purposes only. It's not exactly a stringent deadline. It only requires Bush to seek Congressional approval before extending the occupation and spending new funds to do so.

On Democratic House leader Nancy Pelosi's website we find her portrait of what US troops will be doing in Iraq following this withdrawal, or "redeployment," should it occur late next year on the bill's schedule. "US troops remaining in Iraq may only be used for diplomatic protection, counterterrorism operations and training of Iraqi Security Forces." But does this not bear an eerie resemblance to Bush's presurge war plan? Will the troops being redeployed out of Iraq even come home? No, says Pelosi, as does Senate majority leader Harry Reid. These troops will go to Afghanistan to battle Al Qaeda.

So the bill essentially adopts and enforces Bush's war plan and attendant "benchmarks" as spelled out in his January 10 speech. On March 27 the Senate voted 50 to 48 to start withdrawal in March 2008, said schedule being nonbinding on the President. At any rate, Bush has promised to veto all schedules for withdrawal coming out of Congress. Meanwhile, the war goes on, with a supplemental, Democrat-approved $124 billion, more than Bush himself requested. As Congress considers the half-trillion-dollar FY 2008 Pentagon budget, there is no sign that the Democratic leadership will permit any serious attack on further war funding.

Thus when it comes to the actual war, which has led to the bloody disintegration of Iraqi society, the death of up to 5,000 Iraqis a month, the death and mutilation of US soldiers every day, nothing at all has happened since the Democrats rode to victory in November courtesy of popular revulsion in America against the war. Bush's reaction to this censure at the polls was to appoint a new commander in Iraq, Gen. David Petraeus, to oversee the troop surge in Baghdad and Anbar Province. The Democrats voted unanimously to approve Petraeus, and now they have OK'd the money for the surge.

Although nothing of any significance actually happened on March 23, to read liberal commentators one would think we'd witnessed some profound upheaval, courtesy of Nancy Pelosi's skillful uniting of the various Democratic factions. What she accomplished in practice was the neutering of the antiwar faction. In the end only eight Democrats (plus two Republicans) voted against the Supplemental Appropriation out of opposition to the war. The balance of 202 no votes came from Republicans who opposed Pelosi's bill as anti-Bush and antiwar. So, in Congress 420 representatives officially have no problem with the war in Iraq continuing until the eve of the next election. Ten are foursquare against it, which is more or less where Congress has always been, in terms of committed naysayers.

Antiwar forces in Congress are now weaker. Take Sam Farr of Santa Cruz, California, and Peter DeFazio of Eugene, Oregon, both Congressmen with large progressive constituencies. In the last Republican-controlled Congress they were stout opponents of the war, voting against authorization to invade and money for the war thereafter. No longer. Pelosi handed Farr bailout money for his district's spinach growers, and DeFazio got funding for schools and libraries. Who knows? Perhaps a few dollars of the latter will go to wheelchair access for the paraplegics who will come home from Iraq over the next sixteen months, maimed in the war for which DeFazio just voted more money.

Seeking to explain his yes vote for Pelosi's war-funding bill, Farr issued a press release saying, "This bill brings our troops home." But he also told the *San Francisco Chronicle*, "They want to go gung-ho. They want to escalate in Iraq. So what would our 'no' votes mean?"

Mr. Farr, they would have meant more votes against the war, and had there been four more holdouts against Pelosi's palm-greasing, these no votes would have monkey-wrenched her bill, thus demonstrating that it is impossible to get a majority in the House of Representatives to endorse a piece of fakery designed to deceive the very people who put the Democrats back in power.

The real antiwar movement proved itself incapable of pressuring House Democrats to hold out. The January 27 demonstration organized by United for Peace and Justice did involve active lobbying of Democrats to hold their feet to the fire, but the demo itself was really a Bush-bashing session, with scant reminders that Bush's war has been and continues to be a bipartisan project.

Tom Matzzie, the Washington director of MoveOn, said after the March 23 vote, "Bush is our worst enemy and our best ally." In other words, when Bush savaged Pelosi's bill with accusations that it gives aid and comfort to the enemy, he cemented Democratic support for it. The focus stays always on Bush, over whom MoveOn will never have influence, as opposed to Democrats, whom MoveOn could have pressured with its 3 million–strong e-mail list. But rather than rousing its members to accuse Pelosi of enabling the war, MoveOn carefully limited the available options in polling its members. It asked only whether they were for, against or not sure about war funding as dealt with in her bill.

MoveOn could have phrased it another way: Do you support the Pelosi plan (fully describing it); do you support the Barbara Lee plan (funding exclusively for gradual withdrawal of US troops); do you reject war funding altogether?

Will Congressional opposition to the war now get stronger, anchored by Pelosi's bill? Not likely. The window of opportunity for that flew open right after the election, when antiwar forces roared in outrage after being snubbed by Pelosi and Reid, who omitted the war and the Patriot Act from their must-do agenda. Instead, the Democratic leadership chose merely to appear to oppose the war while continuing to fund it. This they have now achieved, amid the satisfied cheers of the progressive sector. ■

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ARTICLES

The New SDS

CHRISTOPHER PHELPS

Twenty-year-old Will Klatt, wearing a green knit hat, baggy jeans and black jacket pulled over a hoodie, stands before a Civil War monument at the center of Ohio University's main campus in Athens. Although a February snow is falling steadily, more than a hundred students have turned out for this rally called by a new organization with a very familiar name: Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

"Many of us at Ohio University have taken classes on the principles of democracy, on justice, on ethics," says Klatt, "and with the presumption that we will use this knowledge, acquired in our classes, to become more informed citizens. Yet this knowledge we acquire is nothing if we do not put it into practice."

The students, including frat boys and jocks, clap and whistle. They are here in protest against new fees, elimination of four varsity sports programs and increased administrative bonus pay. Each decision, organizers say, reflects a lack of student power on campus—as do "free-speech zones" confining student protest to irrelevant corners of campus. "We are talking," says Klatt, "about the corporatization of our university."

Angry at the Iraq debacle, emboldened by the Bush-Cheney tailspin, a new student radicalism is emerging whose concerns include immigrants' rights, global warming and the uncertainties facing debt-ridden graduates. Such considerations distinguish the new SDS from its historical namesake, which took shape in a very different context of economic affluence and establishment liberalism.

The original SDS, formed in 1960, sought "a participatory democracy," the involvement of all in running society from the bottom up, as elaborated in the Port Huron Statement of 1962. Frustrated with conventional liberalism, inspired by the civil rights movement and sustained by opposition to the Vietnam War, SDS grew to perhaps 100,000 members before disintegrating in a shower of fratricidal sparks in 1969.

The notion of re-creating SDS was the brainchild of Jessica Rapchik and Pat Korte, high school students in North Carolina and Connecticut, respectively, who met on an antiwar phone hookup in the fall of 2005. Upon discovering their mutual dissatisfaction with the existing left, they hit upon the notion of reviving SDS. One of the original SDSers they first contacted was Alan Haber, president of SDS from 1960 to 1962, now a woodworker in Ann Arbor, Michigan, who had independently suggested "re-membering" SDS at a historians' conference in 2003. Once the call to relaunch SDS went public in January 2006 with a new website, campus chapters began popping up, from Florida to Colorado. Today, there are more than 100 college chapters and dozens more in high schools.

By laying claim to an old name, contemporary students risked that 1960s veterans might disapprove of new wine being made in their bottle. Sociologist Todd Gitlin, SDS president from 1963 to 1964, is one such skeptic. "What was often brilliant about SDS," he says, "was that it was attuned to its moment. It didn't recycle the Old Left. It was the New Left." Maurice Isserman, who joined SDS at Reed College in 1968, recently published a sharply critical piece about the new SDS in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. In an interview, he said of the group's revival, "As a historian, I found it a little offensive. It's like, could I be in the Sons of Liberty tomorrow if I started it, claimed lineal descent from Sam Adams?"

The new SDSers have few such qualms. They seek continuity with radical history but value the name Students for a Democratic Society as much for the future it projects as for its fabled past. They find it a compelling name for an inclusive, multi-issue student group seeking social transformation. Emerging from a post-Seattle, direct-action culture defined by negation—"anticapitalist," "antiwar"—they value its forthright, positive aim of democracy. The new SDSers admit, however, that the name does not always evoke the associations they intend. "Oh," said a friend to Yale University senior Micah Landau, 21, "so you want me to join the guerrillas?"

What most links the new SDS to the old is the principle of participatory democracy. SDSers consider that ideal, both as a social aim and a guide to present-day practice, to be the quintessence of their project. They seek to combine the expansive vision of liberation from oppression, empire and capitalism

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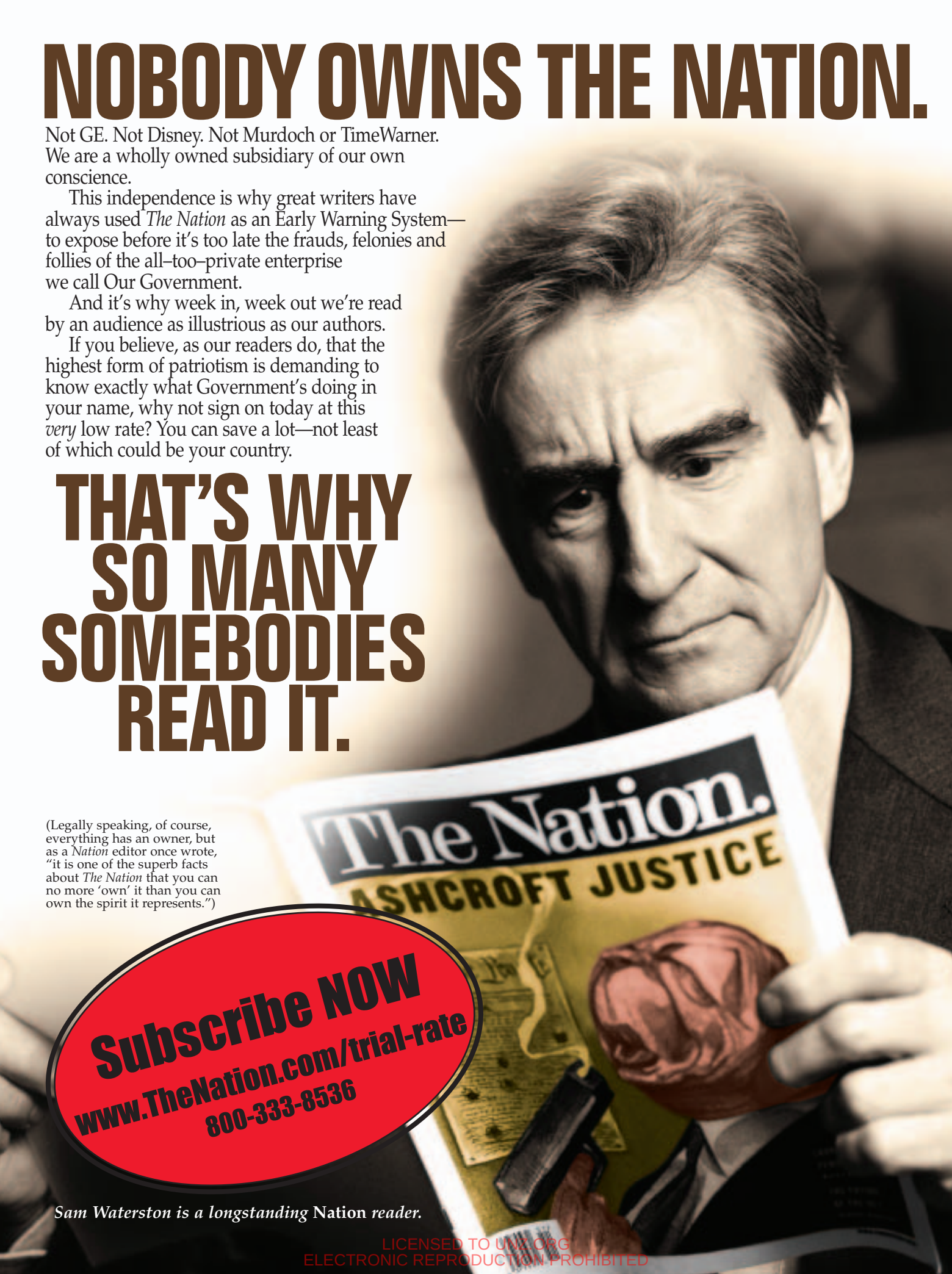

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characteristic of SDS in the late 1960s with the commitment to participatory democracy typical of the movement in the early '60s. The tone at meetings is honest, searching, respectful. Although the group has informal leaders, no one is a "heavy."

The belief systems of SDSers range tremendously. Variations on anarchism and socialism are commonplace, but each chapter has a distinct character. At Choate Rosemary Hall, the Connecticut prep school, Paul Gault, 18, says "a lot of students wanted just an outlet for their voice," making the chapter "by SDS standards not too radical." But since the new SDS has spread most rapidly on regional campuses and at community colleges, not elite institutions, a more typical chapter—both demographically and ideologically—might be Mt. San Antonio Community College in Walnut, California. There the four SDS members identify themselves as Marxist-libertarian, libertarian socialist, anarcho-syndicalist and communal anarchist, the differences between them being "zilch," they report. Ohio's Klatt says that many people in SDS are "anarcho-something-or-other, but they feel like anarchist organizations are so unorganized that they haven't been effective in creating systemic change." At the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, however, the ten core SDSers are all liberals, while at the University of North Alabama the thirteen to fifteen core SDSers are mostly liberals, with a sprinkling of socialists. "Anarchy isn't really our deal," says Andrew Walker, 23, a journalism major.

From the outset, the new SDS sought interaction with veterans of the first SDS. This has proved more vexing than anyone anticipated.

While SDSers are extraordinarily skillful at dissecting race, gender, class and sexuality in their personal lives, they show less aptitude, as yet, for economic research and political analysis. Most SDSers would have an easier time defining "heteronormativity" than corporate liberalism. Their knowledge of the labor movement all too often begins and ends with the Industrial Workers of the World. However, the new SDS's sensitivity to group dynamics is light-years—or several decades—ahead of its '60s predecessor. Women compose 40 percent or more of the membership and often exert chapter leadership. Sarah McGarity, 20, a political science and women's studies major, helped create the Ohio University chapter and believes women are for the most part equals within SDS. "Women definitely have the opportunities that weren't necessarily given to them in the '60s," she says.

Race today is not quite the study in black and white that it was in the '60s. Now as then, there are few African-Americans in SDS, but proportions vary. Of the five who started Wayne State's chapter in Detroit, two were African-American, one Asian and one Latina, says Carmen Mendoza-King, 21. If SDS is not as heavily white as it was in the '60s, this is mostly a result of subsequent waves of Asian and Latin American immigration. Hunter College senior Daniel Tasripin, 24, whose father was Indonesian and mother Polish-Jewish and French, argues that SDS should recognize affirmative action, the curriculum and the "basic justice of the university in relation to the surrounding community" as issues not specific to people of color but reflective of "the universal need for a university that represents all the people."

SDS is loose, more movement than organization. Anyone can sign up online. The group now claims more than 2,000 members, but it is hard to tell what that means. There are no dues, and therefore no funds, no staff, no office and no national publication apart from the website. The group has no elected national leaders and no basis for national decision-making. Paradoxically, these weaknesses provide some strength. The very élan of SDS is antibureaucratic. SDS enables regional and national linkages while preserving local control. Its appeal is that it is self-creating, do-it-yourself, free from centralized discipline or external control.

This explains why SDS displays such variety and vitality at the chapter level. At Brown University, where meetings regularly attract twenty-five people, SDS distributed a "Disorientation Guide" to 1,600 new students this fall. At Olympia last May and in Tacoma this March, Washington state SDSers were arrested for blocking Army Stryker vehicles from being loaded onto ships bound for Iraq. At Pace University in Manhattan, five SDSers were arrested in November simply for stepping onto campus to exercise free speech in protest against their administration.

From the outset, the new SDS sought interaction with older radicals, in particular veterans of the first SDS. This, however, has proved more vexing than anyone anticipated. The new SDS's adult counterpart, Movement for a Democratic Society (MDS), has been riven by divisions rooted deep in SDS history. Power has resided largely with three figures: historian Paul Buhle, once editor of the original SDS journal *Radical America*; Thomas Good, a 48-year-old Communist-turned-anarchist who created the new SDS website; and Bruce Rubenstein, a Connecticut personal-injury attorney. Left on the outs have been Haber, a kindly bearded sage, and a small "democracy" caucus whose best-known member is historian Jesse Lemisch.

The MDS tensions trace in part to distinct pasts. Both Haber and Lemisch were present at SDS's founding convention in 1960; Rubenstein was part of Weatherman, a faction that scuttled SDS in 1969, and its successor, the Weather Underground, which bombed corporate and government targets. Bitter sniping on group listservs has been a more recent source of estrangement. Substantively, the dividing lines surfaced in an early discussion about whether to bring young and old together in one big-tent SDS. That proposal proved a dead letter when the students stated their desire for autonomy. A more gnawing issue is whether processes in MDS have been transparent, legitimate or democratic. A final matter is the residual influence of Weatherman.

The Weather controversy erupted when Bernardine Dohrn, a Weather leader who now teaches law at Northwestern University, was invited to speak at the first new SDS conference, held in Providence, Rhode Island, in April 2006. Dohrn received a rousing welcome, but when Bob Ross, an early SDSer, used his talk to lament that "the largest legal and unarmed movement in the history of the West" turned "ineffectually violent and useless," he was received coolly. At the first new SDS national convention in Chicago, in August, Good opened the proceedings by reading

Christopher Phelps, who teaches history at Ohio State University, Mansfield, is the author of Young Sidney Hook: Marxist and Pragmatist *(University of Michigan).*

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greetings from Dohrn. Moreover, Rubenstein, MDS's treasurer, is unapologetic about his Weather history and says that if it were 1969 he would "do it all over again," but that he does "not endorse those tactics" for SDS today.

Many in MDS consider Weatherman ancient history. "Heck, they're all 65 already," says Penelope Rosemont, another graying MDS officer. "How violent can you get at 65?" Lemisch, however, is concerned that a rehabilitated Weather may corrupt the revived SDS. A critic of a recent spate of films and books that sanitize and romanticize the Weather past, he has interpreted some direct actions of the new SDS as reminiscent of Weatherman's "Fight the People" slogan. The students, for their part, find Lemisch's criticism lacking in proportionality. Although intrigued by Weather's notoriety and susceptible to being impressed by Dohrn's celebrity, they regard Weather as a negative political example. "They espoused a sort of white-guilt and white-privileged politics that is, in my estimation, wrongheaded," says Tasripin. Co-founder Korte, now a 19-year-old student at the New School, objects to "people trying to conjure or dress us in Weather's clothes." An actual inspiration for the new SDS, says Senia Barrigan, 20, a Brown University student and daughter of immigrants from Colombia and Ecuador, was last year's strike by 70,000 teachers in Oaxaca, Mexico, which sparked a militant but peaceful popular insurgency against a corrupt, autocratic government.

MDS secretary Good, however, has referred to "my Weather comrades" and called himself "an unrepentant Weather supporter." He donned a "Fuck Jesse Lemisch" T-shirt at the national convention and issued a facetious "fatwa" calling for a pie to be thrown in Lemisch's face. Some in MDS and SDS find these puerilities obnoxious or embarrassing, but that hasn't translated into support for the "democracy" caucus, widely regarded as a nuisance for sending frequent, adversarial complaints over the group's listservs. (The dissidents, for their part, object that they have been removed or excluded from many listservs.)

In February MDS held a daylong public meeting to announce a nonprofit corporation, MDS, Inc., that will raise funds for SDS. One of the selected speakers, former Weather leader Mark Rudd, delivered a piercingly honest self-criticism, stating that Weather "did the work" of the FBI by "killing off" the original SDS. Rudd urged the new SDS to recognize violence and property destruction as politically self-defeating in the United States. A panel of students, in turn, asked MDS to assist SDS by sharing wisdom and skills rather than bickering. However, Haber's desire for extended participatory conversation among the gathered MDS members was not fulfilled, and the dissidents felt railroaded. "It was not democracy's finest hour," allows Rudd. "I felt they should have been given ten minutes to present their case."

The newly elected board of MDS, Inc., is broadly representative of the whole left, but its biggest names—Tom Hayden, Barbara Ehrenreich, Cornel West, Angela Davis and Noam Chomsky—are symbolic luminaries, not actively involved. Much hinges on whether the new chairman, Manning Marable, a distinguished African-American historian at Columbia University, can guide MDS, Inc., beyond its present contretemps to "assist and promote the development of activism among young people," as he envisions.

The youth in SDS have for the most part tuned out MDS. They are instead focused on their own priorities: defining their points of unity, developing a decision-making structure and challenging the Iraq War.

The connection between these needs became clear at the January 27 mass mobilization on the Washington Mall called by United for Peace and Justice. SDSers could not agree on where to meet beforehand. Some wanted to convene at Dupont Circle, the traditional gathering point for the masked anarchist "black bloc." Others, greater in number, wanted to meet at the Smithsonian Castle and leaflet the crowd. In the end, all SDSers found themselves drawn behind the black bloc as it trampled a flimsy fence, rushed up the Hill bearing plastic shields and painted obscenities and slogans on the Capitol steps. While some in SDS were elated by this action, others considered it witless. "Propaganda by the deed doesn't work," says Yale's Landau. "They probably alienated far more people than they inspired with the Capitol rush, especially the graffiti on the steps of the Capitol."

Because the Capitol police behaved with extraordinary restraint and made no arrests, the provocation received scant media scrutiny. Such luck cannot be expected to hold twice. Many in SDS conclude that the episode proved there is a need for greater coordination and that structurelessness can be undemocratic if a chapter or two engage in rash actions contrary to the wishes of most members. At a February SDS meeting in New York, more than eighty students from twenty-two Northeastern campuses endorsed a federated regional council system, a possible basis for a national structure. Whether organization and anti-authoritarianism can be synthesized in SDS, however, remains to be seen. Klatt foresees a period of transition, "kind of like how our American government had to go through the confederation of states before they came up with a unified country."

Within SDS there is rising awareness that the wildest tactic may derail the most radical strategy. Landau believes SDSers "who are willing to jump into the most extreme action without thinking about base-building and movement-building" are counterweighed by others with more thoughtful approaches. Korte says SDSers are increasingly asking themselves, "Rather than tactics guiding our strategy, is strategy guiding our tactics?" Joshua Russell, 23, a Brandeis grad whose job for the Rainforest Action Network allows him to travel as an unofficial national SDS organizer, hopes SDS will become a "movement-building institution that will unite people."

The matter of moment is the Iraq War. Whether or not they approve of the Capitol rush, SDSers are eager to push the envelope beyond large marches. There is "a general feeling that the tactics being used now are not enough," says John Cronan Jr., 23, a Pace student. At the University of Alabama, SDS recently staged a "die-in" to dramatize the war. Three Michigan chapters are investigating their universities' financial ties to the military industry. To mark the war's four-year anniversary in March, SDS initiated class walkouts, rallies and marches at more than sixty campuses and high schools. And, to borrow a '60s phrase, momentum now flows "from protest to resistance"—from merely speaking out against the war to the nonviolent obstruction of its operation. Twenty New York SDSers were arrested on March 12 after they shut down an Armed Forces Recruiting Center in Manhattan for two hours. Their chant: "Stop the war! Yes we can! SDS is back again!" ■

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THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE WAS ONCE AN ORGANIZER ON CHICAGO'S SOUTH SIDE.

Obama's Community Roots

DAVID MOBERG

In 1985, freshly graduated from Columbia University and working for a New York business consultant, Barack Obama decided to become a community organizer. Though he liked the idea, he didn't understand what the job involved, and his inquiries turned up few opportunities.

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Then he got a call from Jerry Kellman, an organizer working on Chicago's far South Side for a community group based in the churches of the region, an expanse of white, black and Latino blue-collar neighborhoods that were reeling from the steel-mill closings. Kellman was looking for an organizer for the new Developing Communities Project (DCP), which would focus on black city neighborhoods.

Obama, only 24, struck board members as "awesome" and "extremely impressive," and they quickly hired him, at $13,000 a year, plus $2,000 for a car—a beat-up blue Honda Civic, which Obama drove for the next three years organizing more than twenty congregations to change their neighborhoods.

Despite some meaningful victories, the work of Obama—and hundreds of other organizers—did not transform the South Side or restore lost industries. But it did change the young man who became the junior senator from Illinois in 2004, and it provides clues to his worldview as he bids for the Democratic presidential nomination.

"I can't say we didn't make mistakes, that I knew what I was doing," Obama recalled three years ago to a boisterous convention of the still-active DCP. "Sometimes I called a meeting, and nobody showed up. Sometimes preachers said, 'Why should I listen to you?' Sometimes we tried to hold politicians accountable, and they didn't show up. I couldn't tell whether I got more out of it than this neighborhood."

But, he continued, "I grew up to be a man, right here, in this area. It's as a consequence of working with this organization and this community that I found my calling. There was something more than making money and getting a fancy degree. The measure of my life would be public service."

After a transient youth and an earnest search for identity, Obama also found a home—a community with which he continued relationships, a church and a political identity. He honed his talent for listening, learned pragmatic strategy, practiced bringing varied people together and developed a faith in ordinary citizens that still influences his campaign message. He discovered the importance of personal storytelling in politics (and wrote short stories that refined his style).

Later, as a politician, he worked closely with community groups (though not as ardently as another community organizer turned politician, the late Senator Paul Wellstone). As a presidential candidate, he frequently refers to his community organizing, asking supporters to treat his campaign as a social movement in which he is just "an imperfect vessel of your hopes and dreams."

Obama worked as an organizer at a time when Harold Washington's election as mayor stirred his hopes and dreams, as well as those of blacks and progressives in the city. Interviews with people who worked with him during that time elicited few complaints—virtually everyone described him in glowing terms, including dedicated, hard-working, dependable, intelligent, inspiring, a good listener, confident but self-effacing. They expressed admiration for him as an organizer who trained strong community leaders while keeping himself in the background and as a strategist who could turn general problems into specific, winnable issues. Loretta Augustine-Herron, a member of the DCP board that hired him, remembers him as someone who always followed the high road. "You've got to do it right," she recalls him insisting. "Be open with the issues. Include the community instead of going behind the community's back—and he would include people we didn't like sometimes. You've got to bring people together. If you exclude people, you're only weakening yourself. If you meet behind doors and make decisions for them, they'll never take ownership of the issue."

Obama worked in the organizing tradition of Saul Alinsky, who made Chicago the birthplace of modern community organizing, as translated through the Gamaliel Foundation, one of several networks of faith-based organizing. Often by confronting officials with insistent citizens—rather than exploiting personal connections, as traditional black Democrats proposed—Obama and DCP protected community interests regarding landfills and helped win employment training services, playgrounds, after-school programs, school reforms and other public amenities.

One day a resident at Altgeld Gardens, a geographically isolated public housing project surrounded by waste sites, brought a notice about planned removal of asbestos from the project manager's office. Obama organized the community to find out if there was asbestos in their apartments. They persisted as officials lied and delayed, then took a bus—with far fewer people than Obama had anticipated—to challenge authorities downtown. Ultimately, the city was forced to test all the apartments and eventually begin cleaning them up.

In his autobiography, *Dreams From My Father*, Obama writes that the bus trip changed him in a fundamental way, "because it hints at what might be possible and therefore spurs you on.... That bus ride kept me going, I think. Maybe it still does."

A recent *Los Angeles Times* report contended that Obama overstated his own importance, ignoring others who were work-

David Moberg is a senior editor at In These Times.

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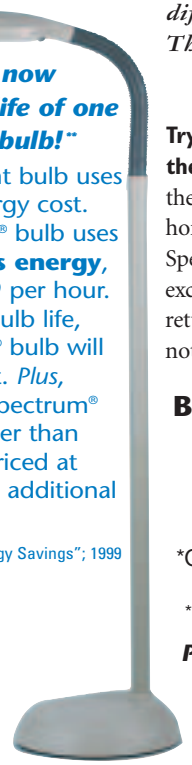

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ing on environmental issues; but in the book he's extremely modest about his role and accomplishments, much as he was as an organizer when he refused fellow organizers' suggestions that he embellish the group's achievements. "There was no campaign without Barack," Kellman says. "He was there to get people to organize when they wouldn't organize at all." Hazel Johnson, a longtime Altgeld Gardens environmental activist, says, "Yeah, he's a good organizer. I've got to give it to him."

But Obama grew restless and eventually went to Harvard Law School. "He said you can only go so far in organizing. You help people get some solutions, but it's never as big as wiping away problems," says Michael Evans, a DCP organizer after Obama left. "It wasn't end-all. He wanted to be part of the end-all, to get things done." But Obama kept his ties to DCP and worked out of its office when he ran a drive that registered 150,000 new voters in 1992 and became the springboard for his own grassroots campaign for Illinois State Senate.

Obama's politics of transcendent unity, which has appealed to many voters, has its roots in his work as a "bridge builder," in the words of the Rev. Anthony Van Zanten, overcoming the gulf within DCP between Catholic and Protestant churches. But this vision of harmony also reflects Obama's distaste for conflict. "Personality-wise, Barack did not like direct confrontation," Kellman says. "He was a very nice young man, very polite. It was a stretch for him to do Alinsky techniques. He was more comfortable in dialogue with people. But challenging power was not an issue for him. Lack of civility was."

Obama's organizing history may give few clues about what policies he would pursue as President, but Obama the presidential candidate still shows his roots—a faith in ordinary citizens, a quest for common ground and a pragmatic inclination toward defining issues in winnable ways. Even when Obama was an organizer, Augustine-Herron told him he would be the nation's first black President. Now the Rev. Alvin Love, whom Obama recruited to DCP, looks at his candidacy and says, "Everything I see reflects that community organizing experience. I see the consensus-building, his connection to people and listening to their needs and trying to find common ground. I think at his heart Barack is a community organizer. I think what he's doing now is that. It's just a larger community to be organized." ■

MUSHARRAF IS BESIEGED BY DEMOCRATIC PROTEST, GROWING JIHADI POWER—AND US DEMANDS.

Pakistan's Shaky Dictatorship

GRAHAM USHER

Islamabad

Pakistan's President-General, Pervez Musharraf, is facing his worst crisis since he took power in a coup in October 1999. The last three weeks of March have seen violent protests in Islamabad, Lahore and other cities led by black-suited lawyers but followed, increasingly, by once-docile political parties, including the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) of former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. All scent that more than seven years of military rule may be coming to a close.

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The crisis began on March 9, when Musharraf suspended Pakistan's Chief Justice, Iftikhar Mohammed Chaudhry, allegedly for abuse of office. Most of Pakistan's legal fraternity—and many, many others—saw this as a ruse to remove an unusually truculent judge. Musharraf wants to be re-elected for another five-year presidential term by an existing Parliament rigged in his favor. He also wants to remain army chief. In February Chaudhry told military cadets that in his opinion, Musharraf could not remain as both president and army chief beyond the expiry of his current presidential term in October. "That's why he was sacked," says a government insider.

Unaccountable military rule is one constant of Pakistani politics. American power is another. Two weeks before the lawyers took to the barricades, US Vice President Dick Cheney flew into Islamabad in a Black Hawk helicopter. He was in town to deliver a "tough message" to the Pakistani leader. Since September Washington has become exercised by peace agreements Musharraf signed with pro-Taliban tribesmen in Pakistan's border areas with Afghanistan.

These pacts have not only failed to reduce the flow of Taliban and Al Qaeda guerrillas into Afghanistan; they have created ungoverned spaces in which Taliban and foreign fighters have regrouped for a spring offensive against NATO in Afghanistan and, in the case of Al Qaeda, perhaps "faraway enemies" like Europe and America. Bloodied by Iraq, the Bush Administration has realized that Afghanistan could tip the same way. Cheney was the latest American heavy hitter dispatched to make sure Musharraf stays onside.

Cheney warned him that a Democratic-run Congress might cut aid to the Pakistani army unless it took action against the Taliban and Al Qaeda. The strategy of striking deals with tribesmen had failed, Cheney said, and Pakistan would have to become more aggressive in pursuit of Al Qaeda. "The Yanks want a civil war," snapped a Pakistani minister. Musharraf said nothing, though a spokesperson hissed, "Pakistan does not accept dictation from any side or any source."

It does, of course, and it will. The day of Cheney's visit a top Taliban leader, Mullah Obaidullah Akhund, was picked up by

Graham Usher, a writer and journalist based in Islamabad, is the author of Dispatches From Palestine: The Rise and Fall of the Oslo Peace Process *(Pluto).*

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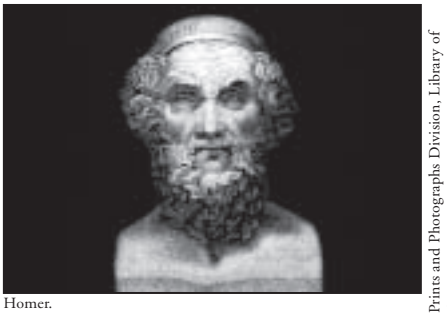

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Pakistani forces in Quetta on the basis of intelligence sent by US forces in Kandahar. And the last few weeks have seen fierce battles between tribesmen and foreign fighters in the South Waziristan tribal agency bordering Afghanistan. The government claims the fighting is a victory for its policy of "turning" locals against foreigners in the tribal areas. Local sources say the skirmishes are a more mundane turf war between tribesmen and Uzbek militants allied to Al Qaeda, with the Taliban trying to mediate a truce. All three forces are active in the insurgency in Afghanistan.

Since 9/11—when Musharraf changed sides in the "war on terror"—Pakistan has received $10 billion in direct US aid and as much again in covert aid, most of it military. The army is aware of its paymaster, to whom it owes its pre-eminent place in Pakistani politics and to whom it is ultimately accountable. And Musharraf knows he is answerable to his generals far more than he is to his people. While the Pakistani military has a history of biting the hand that feeds it—sometimes drawing blood—it would never bite it off. This is why successive US governments have preferred military dictatorships in Pakistan to any other regime.

Because of the imbroglio over the Chief Justice, Musharraf's dictatorship is on the ropes like never before. But it is tottering rather than toppling because Musharraf still commands the support of most of the army. Nothing risks that essential pillar more than a US-driven offensive to "go after" the Taliban and Al Qaeda in the tribal areas. Musharraf knows this for sure. He has been there before.

The Tribal Areas

Pakistan's tribal areas are seven "agencies" piled up against its mountainous border with Afghanistan. Rugged and raw, they are home to 3 million Pashtun tribesmen. For a millennium, they have lived by the Pashtunwali ethic of honor, loyalty and revenge. Some—like North West Frontier Province (NWFP) Governor Ali Mohammed Jan Orakzai, who rules the tribal areas as Musharraf's viceroy—see in such codes a "historical romance of freedom and independence." Others see them as blights of backwardness, poverty and powerlessness. For the past twenty-five years the areas' small but vocal middle class has been demanding their integration into the NWFP and democracy rather than direct rule from Islamabad. Neither has been given.

Change has come in other ways. Following the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the tribal areas became the last front line of the cold war. Powered by US and Saudi money, but orchestrated by Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence agency (ISI), they became the matrix for national, regional and global Islamist movements, of which Al Qaeda was only the most notorious. Where there had been illiteracy, hundreds of madrassas schooled thousands in the litanies of jihad. Where there had been penury, war economies boomed, driven by currencies of gold, guns and opium. According to historian Fazal-ur-Rahim Marwat, 500,000 young men were socialized in such ways of man, God and dope. Most were Pashtun tribesmen, who eventually morphed into the Taliban. Some were Arabs, including Osama bin Laden.

Pakistan's purpose in planting this "volcano on both sides of the border" was geopolitical, says Marwat. Islamization of the tribal areas was to be the vector through which pro-Pakistan Afghan movements like the Taliban could be supplied, enabling if not a client regime in Kabul then at least an anti-Indian one. Domestically, the production of so many versed in political Islam would serve as a counter to secular parties demanding elections and nationalist Pashtun parties demanding rights. The Pakistani military has long seen India, democracy and regional autonomy as existential threats.

What the army did not foresee was the way Islamization would rupture the tribal order on which its rule rested. As a result of the anti-Soviet insurgency and then the Taliban government in Afghanistan, power in tribal areas slipped away from "political agents" and tribal elders appointed by Islamabad. It fell instead to young clerics or mullahs and their followers, who, like them, were poor, disenfranchised and radical. These are the "Pakistan Taliban." Their ideology is an incendiary mix of Pashtun nationalism, anti-Americanism and a prohibitive, Al Qaeda–influenced Islamism. It is not necessarily anti-Pakistan, but it is beyond the writ of the Pakistani regime, says military analyst Ayesha Siddiqa.

"In the old days—the days of the ISI, the CIA and the mujahedeen—there was command and control, including of warlords who went on to join the Taliban," she says. "But [Taliban leader] Mullah Omar was always autonomous, and so are his followers in the tribal areas. What you call the Pakistan Taliban are young men opposed to Musharraf's policies. They will use arms to bring down the policy. They are out of command and control."

The Tribal Campaigns

The 9/11 attacks made these dynamics visible. Following the Taliban's ouster from Afghanistan in 2001, Pakistani and Pashtun tribesmen gave sanctuary to 2,000–3,000 Taliban and Al Qaeda fighters in South Waziristan.

For the tribesmen, it was a matter of honor: supporting kinsmen against an invader no less alien than the Soviets. For Pakistan it was a matter of insurance, writes journalist and historian Ahmed Rashid. Musharraf "avoided [confronting] the Taliban because he was convinced that the U.S.-led coalition forces would not stay long in Afghanistan. He wanted to maintain the Taliban as a strategic option in case Afghanistan dissolved into civil war and chaos again."

The initial US response to the Taliban's and Al Qaeda's recovery in the tribal areas was disinterest. "We thought, 'If the region's not on fire, there is no need to bring hoses,'" recalls one Western diplomat. "But it became a fire." By 2003 it was clear the Taliban were resurgent in Afghanistan, aided by its bases in South Waziristan, and that senior Al Qaeda leaders, including perhaps bin Laden, were at large in the tribal areas. American commanders told Musharraf that if his army did not go after them, their army would have to. The Pakistani leader submitted. In fifty-six years of independence Pakistani soldiers had never set foot in the Waziristans, part of the trade-off for keeping the tribes loyal. Musharraf told the elders that with conquest would come largesse. He told the army the operation would be a cakewalk.

The army's tribal campaigns lasted nearly three years. With every incursion, civilian death and displacement, the Pakistan Taliban grew stronger. They defended villages, ambushed army patrols, killed pro-government elders and imposed their own brand of "Islamic" law and order. When the army sued for peace

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with pro-Taliban tribesmen in the Waziristans in 2005 and 2006, it was not because of a new "holistic" strategy for the tribal areas, as sold by Musharraf to Washington. It was because of the army's military and political defeat. Seven hundred soldiers had been killed, many had deserted and a handful of commissioned officers were court-martialed for refusing to serve. The numbers of civilians killed and displaced were in the thousands. "Everyone supported the Taliban when the army came in. It was a people's revolt. Pakistan had broken its promise, and that's a big thing in the tribal areas. You don't break your promise," says Malik Qadir Khan, a tribal leader in North Waziristan.

The agreements consecrated the Pakistan Taliban as a political power, says Afrasiab Khattak, a Pashtun politician. With the military campaigns, "a vacuum was created, and the Taliban filled it. They had money and guns, both of which are handy for achieving leadership in tribal societies. The only thing they lacked was recognition from the state, and this they got from the agreements." And with the withdrawal of the army, the Taliban could territorialize power into rule. A trip to Miramshah, capital of North Waziristan, confirms that it is no longer the police or elders who assume the functions of governance. It is the mullahs and young men with black shaggy hair and rifles slung over their shoulders. "There's no government in Miramshah. The political agent cannot leave his home. It's the Taliban which runs the place," says Bat Shajjar, a local.

Do More

It is a détente the United States will not tolerate. Last October a madrassa was bombed in Bajaur tribal area, leaving eighty-two dead. In January eight were killed in a like attack in South Waziristan. Musharraf said the first hit was against a Taliban "training camp"; the second, against Al Qaeda. Locals said seminary students were slain in the first case and woodcutters in the second. They also insisted that the attacks were not executed by Pakistani army helicopters but by US Predator drones flown in from Afghanistan. The response has been ferocious.

In November a suicide bomber detonated on a military parade ground in the NWFP, killing forty-two recruits. The Pakistan Taliban said it was retaliation for Bajaur. Since the South Waziristan strike, there have been six suicide bombs, in Islamabad, Peshawar, Quetta and other cities, which have so far cost thirty-five lives. No group has claimed them, but most leads point to the Taliban or their accomplices. They are significant in two ways. Their method—young tribesmen strapped with explosives—is identical to the suicide attacks now routinely carried out in Afghanistan. Second, their targets are not random but are luxury hotels, VIP lounges, police commanders, army bases, judges and courts—the emblems and sinews of Musharraf's pro-Western military government. They are a warning, says retired army general Talat Masood. "The Taliban are saying, 'If you come after us in the name of America's war in the tribal areas, we will come after you all over Pakistan.'"

Cheney's advice is "go after them." But "every use of force is a victory for the militants," says Rahimullah Yousafzai, a journalist and expert on the Taliban, Al Qaeda and the tribal areas. He agrees that Pakistan will have to do more on the Afghan border and stop the infiltration. But this cannot be done by military

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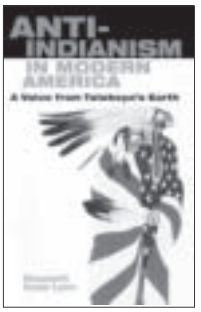

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means alone. "It must involve a strategy that provides education and jobs for thousands of impoverished and unemployed youth, who are ready recruits for the Taliban." It will also require democracy so Pakistanis in the tribal areas can finally determine which political coalition best represents them. Have elections, and you will get the Taliban, sneers the army. "In Pakistan you can only get elected on an anti-American ticket," says a senator.

Is that so? In 2002—when anti-Americanism was at its zenith and elections were rigged in their favor—Islamist parties in Pakistan mustered only 11 percent of the vote. In January local elections in Bajaur a Pashtun nationalist party won the seat. A free suffrage in the tribal areas and NWFP would probably deliver victory to pro-Taliban Islamist parties. But free elections nationally would also return secular parties like the PPP as well as nationalist parties, and these, if the polls are right, represent the majority. "But only a civilian government can bring reform," says Ahmed Rashid. "You cannot have free elections in the tribal areas when there are no free elections in Pakistan."

Which brings us back to the Chief Justice and protesting lawyers in Islamabad. Their demands are no longer just for the defense of an independent judiciary. They want Musharraf to stand down, exiled civilian leaders like Benazir Bhutto to come home and free and fair elections to be held so that Pakistan can once again be a democracy. Then—and only then—can policies be determined for the tribal areas by the people who live there. At the very least, such a return would mean an end to policies based on military might, political abdication and panicked American dictates. But is Washington ready to tolerate change?

So far no US government official has called for a return to civilian rule in Pakistan. ■

THE FIRST FORMER NBA PLAYER TO BE OPENLY GAY IS A PRINCIPLED MAN OF THE LEFT.

John Amaechi's Timeout

DAVE ZIRIN

"I'm going up to my room for some of my own fresh Earl Grey. I can't stand the hotel's." Never before have I interviewed a pro athlete who referred to himself as a "tea snob." But then again, John Amaechi is hardly the typical ex-jock, and his newfound existence as "the first former professional basketball player to be openly gay" has little to do with it. Amaechi, raised in Britain, sounds more like Laurence Olivier than Lawrence Bird. He writes poetry. He has opinions beyond "playing one game at a time." He is also a principled man of the left, passionate about challenging the war in Iraq, the NRA, racism and, now that he is out of the closet, homophobia.

PETER O. ZIERLEIN

Amaechi, traveling the country to promote his autobiography, *Man in the Middle*, has been inspiring attention and crowds. The former center for the Orlando Magic and the Utah Jazz, he was in Washington, DC, recently meeting with both HRCs: the Human Rights Campaign and Hillary Rodham Clinton. He's been drawing huge crowds at bookstores.

But there's one group not rejoicing or even reacting to Amaechi's news: the National Basketball Association. The NBA has been, as Amaechi said, "resoundingly silent." Since he came out, no former pro teammate—and only his former Orlando Magic coach, Doc Rivers—has even made contact with the man they called Meech.

Despite the telling silence of his former teammates and employers, Amaechi takes issue with the common idea that professional athletes are more homophobic or ignorant than the rest of society. "I think it's convenient for people to say, 'Look at these stupid people here. They play a game and they get paid lots of money, and look at how ignorant they all are.' But have you walked through a high school corridor lately? Good lord! I mean, if you're a gay person in high school, you literally feel like a pimple. And there are still plenty of gay people who can't come out at work, because they can still be fired. In thirty-three states you can be fired for being gay. There are job security issues for gay people in most areas of life. Look at the military. You can die for your country but you can't talk about your partner. And in the NBA too—I was worried I would lose my job if I came out."

Amaechi strives not only to condemn homophobia but to understand it. This view has given him perspective on former NBA star Tim Hardaway's infamous rant, when he said on the radio in reference to Amaechi's book, "I hate gay people."

"Hardaway said ignorant things," says Amaechi, savoring his Earl Grey. "He didn't just hurt gay people, he hurt black people too [Amaechi himself is black]. Because right now this homophobia issue is like a black issue, like 'it's just black people saying stupid stuff.' And yet, Ann Coulter did the same thing [calling John Edwards a "faggot"]. It actually makes me far more angry to hear someone in her position do that. Make no mistake, Tim Hardaway's voice is massive and booming. I've gotten letters and e-mails from children who have changed the way they behave, quit their schools, or fear for their safety because of how his words have emboldened people in their environment. So the collateral damage in terms of the fallout has been massive. But this woman does it for an audience of people who represent power. Real power."

This isn't the first time Amaechi has taken on the right. He

Dave Zirin, author of the forthcoming Welcome to the Terrordome: The Pain, Politics and Promise of Sports *(Haymarket), writes frequently for* The Nation *and is a columnist for* Slam Magazine.

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campaigned against the NRA while a player in Orlando and Utah. "I got a lot of death threats with that one," he says.

Then there's the Iraq War, which he vocally criticized as a player back in 2003, when it wasn't easy. It was a road trip with the Utah Jazz that pushed him to speak out.

"We were on a trip to Phoenix, and when we got to the Arena, it was just shocking! At halftime the war started and we all were ushered into locker rooms and we watched the President's announcement, and people were cheering, then through the loudspeakers in the locker room and out on the floor it was 'God Bless America' and 'Born in the USA,' which is actually an antiwar song! But what people were saying at that time, and the look in their eyes, the baying for blood—it was unbelievable!"

I asked if he thought we would ever see an active male player come out. "We're asking the people with the most to lose financially, emotionally, psychologically, to fall on their sword in the hope that that will change the world. Now, my contention on this, having spoken to Judy Shepard [mother of Matthew Shepard, the gay man who was beaten to death in Laramie, Wyoming, in 1998], adoring her and really feeling a great deal of grief over her story, is that if the image of a young boy without his shoes being strapped to a fence and left to die doesn't end homophobia, then a gay Shaq won't either. To me, a young boy, semi-naked, no shoes, strapped to a fence in the middle of nowhere—how can you look at that image and then say the F-word? How can you look at that image and then allow people around you to use anti-gay slurs, when you know it's that kind of atmosphere that leads to that? That's what the Ann Coulters, the Tim Hardaways, need to understand. Their words don't just leave their mouth and drop to the floor like fruit. Their words leave their mouth and bounce around the world like bullets."

Amaechi had sharp words for superstar LeBron James, who said a teammate in the closet couldn't be "trustworthy."

"Get a passport is my first answer to him. Get a passport, see the world, experience something beyond your own little bubble. Next, don't give people classic double binds. You can't trust somebody if they don't come out to you, but at the same time you won't say that if they come out to you that you'll embrace them. You're the most powerful basketball player in the world right now. So first, before you start making these bold assertions about what is going on inside somebody, make a bold assertion about how you'll treat them."

Now Amaechi wants to flex his political muscle. One issue on his agenda is the military's Clinton-era "don't ask, don't tell" policy. "It's absurd in an extreme. It's insulting, it's divisive and it's ridiculous. Why? Because every conflict that the United States is engaged in now, and all the ones it's planning for the next eighteen months—you're going to be standing shoulder to shoulder with militaries that don't follow that policy. The Israeli army doesn't follow that policy. The British army certainly doesn't follow that policy. So, if you can stand shoulder to shoulder with them, then you can stand shoulder to shoulder with them. No, I'm sorry—if I were an American citizen, and certainly an American soldier, I'd be the first person to say, 'I'd rather shower with a gay guy than get my legs blown off.'"

Expect more from Amaechi in the future: "I've always been a political activist. But in terms of LGBT issues and diversity issues in general, yeah, I'm certainly going to step up now. One of the major problems we have is that people need to stand up, be counted and say, 'Unacceptable that in my high school kids get assaulted with the word "gay," meaning stupid or bad or wrong or dumb. Unacceptable that the F-word is being used on a regular basis in workplaces. Unacceptable that coaches talk about "throwing like a girl." Unacceptable that coaches and teachers and bosses allow that kind of rhetoric to go on unchallenged. Unacceptable.'" Here comes the challenge. ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)

Detroit, is organized around the culture and racial mix of a poor working-class neighborhood. *North Country* is the only one that talks union and focuses on workplace struggle, confronting sexual harassment and drawing our attention to the relationship between gender and class.

American films about working-class people are not always acknowledged, or understood, as films about working-class life. Thus, *Friday Night Lights* becomes a sports film; its compelling portrait of a small Texas town devastated by economic decline is only the background. And *Brokeback Mountain* is a "universal love story"—but its specific social context is defined by rural poverty and dead-end jobs.

In some films, depictions of working-class life are stereotypical or distorted. Take *Million Dollar Baby*: The central character is straight out of the trailer park, and its working-class family the essence of venality and corruption. By contrast, *Monster* integrates issues of gender, sexuality and class with personal psychology—a nuanced, sympathetic picture of its central characters in a recognizable working-class milieu.

Many in the white middle-class cling to the myth of a classless society, or one with porous class boundaries. In this vision the working class has little to offer. In fact, prejudice against it runs deep, fueled by racism and paranoia about immigration. Movies about the working class reflect our national confusion. But at least we have some films that value working-class people and their daily struggles. We need more of them.

KITTY KRUPAT
Center for Worker Education

MEAT ONCE A WEEK?

Holyoke, Mass.

■ Like Theresa M. Welford ["Letters," March 26] I was displeased by Daniel Lazare's review of *The Bloodless Revolution* [Feb. 5]. Frances Moore Lappé published *Diet for a Small Planet* in 1971. The moral and environmental reasons for Americans to abstain from diets oversaturated with meat have not changed since then. Production of meat at the levels Americans demand depletes grain, water and topsoil. Factory farming of meat results in soil and water (and eventually humans and flora and fauna) being poisoned by pesticides and animal waste. Mass production of meat, and its place in the fast-food industry, contributes to unequal distribution of wealth and resources and the physical and financial exploitation of people here and around the world. Factory-farming methods result in animal lives and deaths that reflect the depravity of this whole greedy operation.

I suggest two recent books: Deborah Cramer's *Great Waters*, with a chapter on the death of the Gulf of Mexico due to pesticides from Midwestern farms, and Matthew Scully's *Dominion*, with its account of a tour of a hog farm.

In 2007 I should not have to give the reasons why, by abstaining from meat, I am eating with the health and well-being of the planet and its people in mind. Those who do not should have to give their reasons. SYDNEY LANDON PLUM

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

On the Genealogy of Morals

SAMUEL MOYN

INVENTING HUMAN RIGHTS: A History.
By Lynn Hunt.
Norton. 272 pp. $25.95.

The enterprise of writing the history of human rights has become a widespread activity only in the past decade. Lynn Hunt's *Inventing Human Rights* is its most prominent result so far, identifying the Enlightenment and the age of democratic revolutions as the moment when the cause was born. Yet if human rights history is now chic, it is also confused. A few months ago the president of the main American professional association of historians announced to all students of the past—whatever the place and time and subject of their research—that they "are all historians of human rights." But what could such a claim possibly mean?

The most troubling shortcoming of the contemporary attempt to give human rights a history is that it distorts the past to suit the present. And in this gambit, it is late, fatally late: The current wave of human rights history is the tardy fruit of the fashion of human rights in politics, and contributors to the genre clearly set out to provide backstories to the vogue of human rights just a few years ago, when they exercised a literally millennial appeal. But the vine withered as the fruit ripened. The sad fact is that historiography has not caught up with history, and even the professionals—especially the professionals—are still providing the prologue to Clinton-era idealism.

The shift in political debate has been impossible to miss. Even those who retain an investment in human rights cannot treat them as an unquestionable good, mainly because the America that once seemed to many enthusiasts to be the prospective servant of universality abroad all too quickly became the America pursuing low-minded imperial ambitions in high-minded humanitarian tones. The effect on human rights as a public language and political cause has been staggering, and it is not yet clear whether they can recover.

If radical apostasy is the sign that times have changed, then the ideological journey of the writer David Rieff provides the most spectacular evidence. Once a paladin of human rights—and a champion of American humanitarian intervention—Rieff has now turned on the politics he once embraced. For Rieff, human rights, far from the universal panacea he and writers such as Michael Ignatieff and Samantha Power once considered them, now stand revealed as an ideology perfectly designed to cloak the "military humanism" of empire. Agree with him or not, Rieff's evolution shows that Communism is not the only god that can fail.

Human rights history is thriving, but the language of human rights has fallen on hard times, thanks to the Iraq expedition.

The conversion of Tony Judt has been less radical but more interesting. He made his name excoriating French left-wing intellectuals for their failure to champion rights—a failure he saw as rooted in their nation's revolutionary tradition, especially when measured against Anglo-American political wisdom. Rights have an "extra-political status," he wrote thirteen years ago, diagnosing as French pathology the error of making them "an object of suspicion." Now he says that universalistic invocations of rights often mask particular interests—and never more so than in America's current wars—even though he once chastised opponents of rights who took this very position. Formerly treating them as an intellectual talisman, Judt now complains in passing about "the abstract universalism of 'rights'—and uncompro-

Samuel Moyn, who teaches European history at Columbia University, is the author of two books. Most recently, he edited Pierre Rosanvallon: Democracy Past and Future *(Columbia). He is currently working on a book about human rights in the recent period.*

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mising ethical stands taken against malign regimes in their name." He warns that such abstractions can all too easily lead those who invoke them to "readily mistake the US president's myopic rigidity for their own moral rectitude." Of course, Judt still understands himself to be a committed liberal intellectual, at a time when he thinks practically all other liberals have disappeared. But not just the world has changed; he has too, and most strikingly in his acknowledgment that his old standard can hallow many causes.

The travails of rights today mean there is more, not less, at stake in excavating their history. Hunt's account falls neatly into two parts. The first deals with Enlightenment humanitarianism. She argues that the early modern explosion of novels, especially the wildly popular sentimental novels of Samuel Richardson and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, led people beyond aristocratic and religious frameworks to see one another as fellow humans worthy of empathy. In this connection, Hunt devotes an interesting chapter to the eighteenth century's rejection of torture—a topic that gives her book obvious contemporary relevance. Since the majority of human cultures have valued or at least tolerated bodily violation, the repugnance it now inspires has to be explained. Hunt suggests that the rise of sentiment purveyed by the novel combined with a new view of the integrity of the body, with potent results. Torture—together with other corporal violence like honorable dueling, beating wives, spanking children and baiting animals—began to fall from favor in Western culture (save in exported form in colonial rule).

It is true that a rise in compassion for suffering humanity was one ingredient in the explosion of claims for political rights. As Hannah Arendt once observed, in Roman times to call someone a "human" meant referring to him as "outside the range of the law and the body politic of the citizens, as for instance a slave—but certainly a politically irrelevant being." Of course, the eighteenth century had a foundation on which it could build in conferring meaning and value on being human alone. Monotheistic religions always made room for notions of common brotherhood. The source of "empathy" with suffering humanity, for its part, has most plausibly been located in changes in medieval spirituality: Jesus began to be valued as an exemplar of corporal suffering, and Mary became central to Christian piety for having practiced the virtue of compassion. Meanwhile, it is familiar to credit the Renaissance for discovering (or rediscovering) the dignity of man; in his famous study of the Renaissance, Jacob Burckhardt claimed that this period elevated humanity from a "logical category" to a morally resonant force. Probably, the eighteenth century did more to strengthen and secularize the emotive appeals to dignified and suffering humanity than it did to create them. Still, Hunt is surely right about the crucial significance of the Enlightenment—an age of feeling as much as it was an age of reason—for spreading the value of humanity as an end in itself.

If there is a connection between the eighteenth-century rise of humanitarian sentiment and the new wave of rights claims, however, it is only a very loose one.

Since the days of Robespierre's Terror, humanitarian concern has underwritten violations of rights as well as their defense.

The close relationship Hunt asserts between the two is overly general because humanitarianism did not and need not always take the form of revolutionary rights assertions or the search for legal guarantees, whether domestic or international. It is also questionable because "rights talk," rooted in ancient Stoicism, Christian natural law and seventeenth-century contractualism, had historical lineages completely different from humanitarianism. The most sensible conclusion to take away from Hunt's book is that the rise of humanitarianism affected and broadened the rights tradition. But it hardly determined it completely.

Hunt links the rise of the phrase "rights of man" in France after the 1750s to the efflorescence of sympathy as a cultural imperative. But, as she shows, the older language of natural rights persisted, notably in the United States. More important, in spite of her claims that this transformation was also essentially connected with the creation of a new kind of autonomous individual, the humanitarian lineage does not and cannot account for many of the central notions of the rights of man, ones that Hunt ignores: other sorts of judicial guarantees, the right to practice one's religion, the liberty to speak one's mind or publish freely and, above all, the protection of private property.

The second half of Hunt's book turns to some of these subjects, in a highly readable story of the revolutionary declaration of the rights of man. She gives Americans credit for announcing human rights first (even though, again, they used the phrase "natural rights" and did not accord bodily suffering the same centrality). To their discredit, Hunt argues, the Americans did not keep the faith with their own contribution. Luckily, the French soon took up the torch, especially in their Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen of 1789. Hunt is most interested in what she repeatedly calls the cascading logic of human rights, whereby those who announced rights were compelled to extend them to Jews, blacks and women (or at least to consider doing so). And when groups initially excluded from humanity were not brought into the fold, as Hunt points out, they sometimes forced the issue. Early feminists like Olympe de Gouges and Mary Wollstonecraft declared the rights of women, while slaves in the French Caribbean demanded liberation.

Even restricting attention to what Hunt does cover, her massively disproportionate emphasis on bodily violation in general and on torture specifically is revealing. Hunt's book is for an audience for whom torture—and other visible state action—is the most grievous affront to morality. But humanitarian sentiment will seem less praiseworthy for anyone who suspects that the focus on visible forms of cruelty obscures structural wrongs that are less easy to see—even when they sometimes also cause the body to suffer, as with the pangs of hunger or the exhaustion of work. This is the sense in which Hunt's narrative is structured to provide background and authority for 1990s humanitarian idealism—and its recent aftereffects. There is a relationship between George W. Bush's justification of the Iraq War as a humanitarian campaign against "torture chambers and rape rooms" and the single-minded focus on America's own torture sparked by the Abu Ghraib images. Only very recently could outrage so tightly focused on Abu Ghraib shift to deeper questions, whether about the morality and plausibility of the war and the global relations that permitted it or the inherently violent nature of occupation. Hunt's exclusive concern with spectacular wrongs like torture therefore comes at a price. It leads her to overlook, among other things, the central place held by the right to private property in the declarations of the era, as well as the countervailing pressure for social and economic rights. Strangely, for a book about the revolutionary invention of human rights, Hunt fails even to mention either the "right to work," which first appeared

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in the French Revolution, or the very different declaration of rights of 1793, which first featured it.

But in the end the main failing in Hunt's book—and the contemporary agenda of human rights history—is not selectivity. In a highly summary concluding chapter, Hunt indicates that the point of her tale is to explain how it later became possible for the United Nations to base itself on human rights in its Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and for a global movement to form. But this is to forsake an authentically historical treatment of rights in the age of revolution. And if historians miss how different rights were in the past, they will fail even to recognize what it would take to explain rights in the present.

Hunt often treats "human rights" as a body of ideas somehow insulated from history—as if they were a set of beliefs analogous to heliocentrism or relativity, needing only discovery and acceptance. The protagonists of her book are not people thinking and acting on their convictions but rights themselves, which do things like "creep," "thicken," "gain ground," "gather momentum," "reveal a tendency to cascade," have a "bulldozer force," "make their way ineluctably," "take shape by fits and starts," "take a backseat" and "remain in need of rescue." Hunt provides historical details about the recognition of human rights but ultimately seems to think of them as timeless. In a few mysterious asides, she suggests that rights have biological foundations, in spite of her own demonstration of how chronologically and culturally specific they are.

But a series of interlocking contexts for the revolutionary rights at the center of Hunt's book shows that they need to be differentiated from contemporary "human rights" rather than seen as paving the way for their eventual triumph. So the difficulty is not just that many of the rights of the era are left out of account but that those that are examined need to be put in the proper context.

The first crucial fact is that humanitarianism could underwrite violations of rights as well as their defense. Forty years ago, Arendt argued that the explosion of pity was the source not of rights but of terror. The most important text for critically analyzing emotion in the politics of the period, Arendt's *On Revolution* (1963), interpreted Maximilien Robespierre's Terror not as an act of demented criminality but as the first politics based on feeling others' pain. But for Robespierre, the alleviation of suffering required what he called "a compassionate knife,"* to lance the dangerous pustules on the body politic, purging the enemies of virtue without and within. The results were catastrophic: "*Par pitié, par amour pour l'humanité*," petitioners from the Paris Commune wrote to the National Convention, "*soyez inhumains!*"—out of pity and love of humanity, you must be inhuman. Hunt briefly acknowledges some of the dark sides of a culture of sentimental virtue like sensationalism and compassion fatigue. But the Terror is not in her book, and so she does not confront Arendt's disquieting contention that "pity, taken as the spring of virtue, has proved to possess a greater capacity for cruelty than cruelty itself." (It is not for nothing that Communist parties, particularly the French one, have always seen 1917 as the logical successor of 1789.)

If humanitarianism could have ambiguous consequences, so could rights themselves. Some historians have attached great significance to the fact that the French, even in 1789, did not proclaim the rights of man alone; they declared the rights of "man and citizen," as part of a paean to the general will. From the outset of the French Revolution, there was a conceptual and political dilemma between membership in humanity and membership in a collective. And what if a choice arose between honoring the rights of men and preserving the community of citizens? The doyenne of the field, Hunt has for a few years been insisting that the French Revolution needs to be defended as a progressive victory against those skeptics who would reduce the event to its violence and terror. She deserves great credit for doing so, but it is rather disappointing that she fails to address how revolutionary-era rights might be salvaged from their implication in the bloodshed that so swiftly followed upon their announcement.

The abolition of torture, climaxing in the Revolution, also needs to be understood in a larger context of the changing deployment of violence. In her study of the campaign against torture, Hunt echoes Michel Foucault's view in *Discipline and Punish* that modernity forced the state to relinquish its hold on the body; but while Foucault famously argued that this departure involved more insidious forms of control, Hunt defends it as a good thing. Yet both overlook the fact that the violence involved in what Hunt calls the "sacrificial rite" of punishment under the Old Regime—in which the criminal's public torture provided communal expiation—persisted in novel and magnified forms. As historian David Bell spells out in a fascinating new book, the invention of total war over the revolutionary years, whose explosion swamped the world with more devastating violence than ever, is the new and often more frightening guise that public sacrifice could take. In her last pages, Hunt acknowledges that the rise of humanitarianism and the upsurge of carnage are historical twins, thanks especially to the quintessentially modern penchant to sacrifice oneself and others in war waged for humanity's sake or at least in humanity's name. But she seems not to grasp that this admission amounts to a considerable qualification of her thesis, and she follows this insight with the anodyne reassurance that empathy "has become a more powerful force for good than ever before."

In contrast to Judt—not to mention Karl Marx, to whose critique of the language of rights she devotes only a page—Hunt is not sensitive to the way that formalistic invocations of rights can sometimes mask narrow agendas. For her, the true significance of this same "abstract universalism" is that it can permit proliferating rights claims. But what is at stake in interpreting the unintended consequences of abstraction is nowhere more in evidence than in recent shifts of views about the meaning of the Haitian uprising of the time. Until recently, the standard interpretation of the "Black Jacobins" of the Caribbean—in the phrase C.L.R. James gave to his 1938 masterpiece on the subject—saw them as presaging an era of revolutionary nationalism, decolonization and even Third World socialism. Today, in the work of Laurent Dubois and now in Hunt's book, Caribbean antislavery insurgencies are seen as human rights causes. But this idea seems as much a reflection of contemporary passions as the old filiation it displaces. It is true, as Hunt insists, that Toussaint L'Ouverture and others were spurred by the French Revolution to seize citizenship when Frenchmen did not live up to their rhetoric. But when the "cascade" did not happen by itself, it had to be forced through violence, and what these radicals insisted on was mainly their right to be masters of their fate. Hunt pays homage to "the soft power of humanity." Toussaint, for his part, found it necessary to resort to weapons. In any case, the new image of Caribbean insurrection makes one wonder why twentieth-century anticolonialism, the movement from which

* A selection of Robespierre's writings, *Virtue and Terror*, has just been published by Verso with an introduction by Slavoj Zizek.

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James took his inspiration, most often disdained the language of human rights, even though the Universal Declaration had only just been propounded.

The Haitian case suggests another reason the connection between the revolutionary "cascade" and contemporary rights needs to be questioned. For slowly over time, but decisively by the post–World War II era, rights became separated from the revolutionary ambience in which they were originally articulated. As Arendt emphasized, rights in the late eighteenth century were part of revolutionary foundings. But it was nationalism, and even more so socialism, that inherited their radicalism, as well as their tolerance of violence. This is what makes it so difficult to assert any real link between the French Revolution and "human rights" of today. The immediate aftermath of World War II, when the Universal Declaration appeared, partook more of the spirit of restoration than it did of revolution (and the fundamental role of Catholics in the postwar promotion of talk of human rights extended this spirit).

Thus, when Eastern European dissidents made it possible for "human rights" to be reclaimed by liberals and the anti-Communist left in the 1970s, they asserted that what mattered most about those rights is that they were antirevolutionary. Václav Havel and Adam Michnik retrieved human rights precisely against the tradition of revolution—as an "antipolitics," in Hungarian dissident George Konrád's influential phrase. So human rights arose on the ruins of revolution, not as its descendant. That these figures later played a role in "velvet revolutions" of liberal democracy only reinforces this point. And their fervent support of Bush's war, precisely as a human rights cause, raises new doubts about the defense of rights as an extra-political moral code that made them famous, and not just about their recent peregrinations.

But the most glaring difficulty in placing the French Revolution at the origins of human rights today is that—unlike dissidence—it gave rise to nothing like the international human rights movement so central to the contemporary moral imagination. It is worth pondering in what ways the campaign to abolish slavery, which began in the years Hunt covers, anticipated contemporary human rights movements. But to do so one would have to move beyond her way of defining human rights so as to see in them a set of institutional practices, prominently including international mobilization, information gathering, public shaming and so forth. Otherwise, there simply was no "rights of man movement" in the nineteenth century—or if there was, it was liberal nationalism, which sought to secure the rights of citizens resolutely in the national framework.

Hunt's position is that nationalism sank the rights of man after their announcement, but from the first they were seen as overlapping or even identical commitments. (The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen insists that "no body and no individual may exercise authority which does not emanate expressly from the nation.") True, there were occasional proto-internationalist moments in the era, as for example in the presence in the National Assembly of the amusingly named Anacharsis Clootz, a German baron who considered himself the voice of non-French humanity. (Among other things, he begged for military action against his own people.) But such innovations hardly pointed ahead to the United Nations or anticipated the contemporary realities of international law and international groups sprouting in civil society to pressure governments to obey it. Clootz surfaces in Herman Melville's *Moby-Dick*, in fact, as the symbol of multicultural human-

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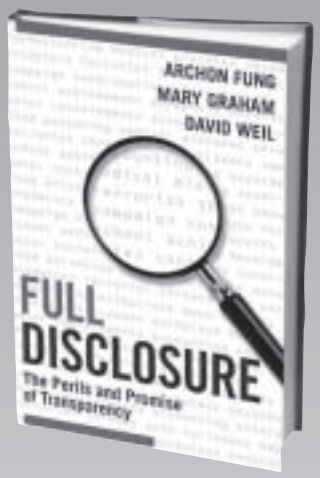

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ity united on shipboard in a metaphysical quest, not for prophesying an international legal regime.

If rights had an internationalist pedigree flowing from the French Revolution, it was, alas, mainly in Napoleon Bonaparte's claim to be spreading the flame of the rights of man as he engulfed the world in the conflagration of his imperial designs. "Oh ye Egyptians," Napoleon proclaimed in 1798 in advertising his conquest as a benevolent act, "they may say to you that I have not made an expedition hither for any other object than that of abolishing your religion.... But tell the slanderers that I have not come to you except for the purpose of restoring your rights from the hands of the oppressors." Omitting the longstanding imperial entanglements of both humanitarianism and rights simply will not do; history shows how frequently they have been offered as justifications for invasion, expansion and annexation. This isn't to say that the revolutionary rights of man anticipated George W. Bush and neoconservative empire rather than a universalistic regime of international law. It is that one cannot embrace rights in the distant past without acknowledging their radically different futures.

Each of these diverse perspectives on revolutionary-era rights forces the same recognition. In order for the contemporary human rights movement to emerge, old meanings and associations had to be dropped and new ones formed. What Hunt presents as an epilogue to a creation long ago turns out to be what really needs to be explained. This is what Marc Bloch meant when, in *The Historian's Craft*, he indicted "the idol of origins." Did Thomas Edison invent the Internet? He created some of the conditions for its much later possibility, but that is about it.

When, then, were human rights invented? As Hunt acknowledges, the phrase hardly ever shows up in English in her period. And while it percolated in diplomatic and legal circles beginning in the 1940s, it was not until the 1970s, with the emergence of dissident movements in Eastern Europe, that it entered common parlance. This is the period that historians need to scrutinize most intently—the moment when human rights triumphed as a set of beliefs and as the stimulus for new activities and institutions, particularly nongovernmental organizations. Yet the minds of human rights scholars constantly wander backward—disinclined, it seems, to face up to the recent vintage and contingent beginnings of their subject.

Of course, with the founding of the United Nations and its Universal Declaration (along with related instruments like the genocide convention as well as the origins of intra-European rights protection), the 1940s were of obvious significance. But if there is little reason to locate the "invention" of human rights as we now know them in the late eighteenth century, there are scarcely more grounds for rooting them in World War II's aftermath.

Currently, a powerful movement among US historians portrays contemporary human rights as flowing as directly and fully formed out of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's wartime vision and planning as Athena sprang from Zeus's skull. For this school, the internationalist rights agenda is an American invention that extended and supplemented the nation's original commitment to liberty with more full-bodied social protection. In Elizabeth Borgwardt's phrase, human rights were America's "new deal for the world." The wistfully nostalgic tones of the historians of an invigorating and well-intentioned American liberalism are poignant and can lead to insight. But there are serious objections—political and interpretive—to this story.

For one thing, it makes human rights seem like the natural outcome of the last consensual war, an uncontroversial good that emerged in response to incontestable evil (never mind that the assertion of rights bore little relationship to the Nazi genocide). Second, it Americanizes rights, evoking a time when the US government could be seen as a benevolent guarantor of universal norms of conduct. Self-evidently, the actual content of the portrayal of human rights as the product of a moment when America offered a genuine universalism is the contemporary moral it allows: that Bush's worst sin is to have ruined the story line that began with America's invention of human rights in the 1940s and was finally on the way to fruition thanks to Bill Clinton's commitment to enforce them in the 1990s.

As David Rieff has argued in these pages, affirming America's universalistic self-image in the past (as the city on a hill, the leader of the free world or the indispensable nation) is to fail to ask just how it was that Bush was able to succeed so easily in burnishing the morality of his adventures—as if what went wrong were a purely accidental perversion of America's true and proper vocation. But there are also historical distortions. Scholars who return to the 1940s, like Borgwardt and Cass Sunstein, devote little or no attention to non-American contributions to

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"rights talk" in the era, and exaggerate its importance and impact at the time. They select and single out what now look like milestones because of their retroactive importance but fail to grasp their marginality in their own period, from which no broad-gauged international movement emerged. Once again, historians are choosing tunnel vision over historical sense.

None of this means that the new fashion of human rights history is entirely misguided. Only those who missed the last thirty years of ideological history—like Marxists who see in human rights nothing but a rhetoric that makes the cage of globalizing neoliberalism more bearable—could think so. But it does mean that we need to understand that human rights in their specific contemporary connotations are an invention of recent date, which drew on prior languages and practices the way a chemical reaction depends on having various elements around from different sources, some of them older than others. The explosion took place only yesterday, and we have to come to grips with why it happened and what the costs and benefits have been for us all. The fact that it occurred to historians to uncover the origins of human rights only recently is itself a sign that they should not seek to find them too long ago and far away.

But there is also a strategic consideration. Human rights norms and organizations remain the chief source of idealistic passion in the world—at least among its well-meaning cosmopolitan elites. Any future idealism will have to draw on the power of their current ethic and put it to good use. In this regard, Hunt is exactly right to stress the emotional charge of human rights. But besides lacking any coherent understanding of how human rights came to have their current power, we have not even begun thinking about how to reinvent the creed in ways that are progressive rather than brutal.

In closing what feels in the end like a creation myth, Hunt writes: "The human rights framework, with its international bodies, international courts, and international conventions, might be exasperating in its slowness to respond or repeated inability to achieve its ultimate goals, but there is no better structure available for confronting these issues." For better or worse, the plangent reassurances have lost their power to comfort, and deep background—especially when brought to bear so instrumentally on our very different present—is of little use in responding to our confusion and dismay. ■

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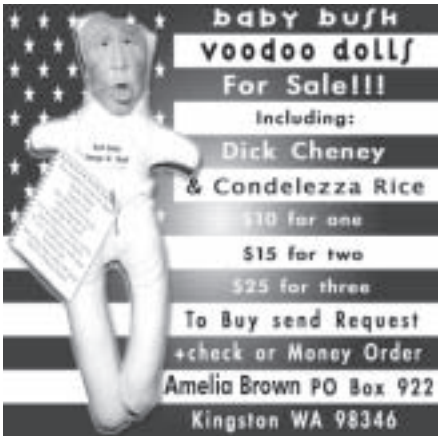

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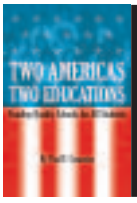

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A Free Man

LAURENT DUBOIS

TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE: A Biography. By Madison Smartt Bell. Pantheon. 333 pp. $27.

Toussaint Louverture was born a slave in the thriving French colony of Saint-Domingue. In the early 1790s, he took part in a massive uprising that demolished slavery in the colony. He became the revolution's greatest military and political leader, consolidating the freedom it had won and laying the foundation for the creation of Haiti in 1804. Given this, you might imagine that Louverture would have a proper tomb. Or that we know what he looked like, and can agree on how to spell his name.

But after dying in a cold prison in the Jura Mountains in 1803, he was thrown into a nearby unmarked grave. No one knows where his bones are. Although there are a few images of him probably drawn from life, many others are the pure product of imagination. While he signed his name "Louverture," it is typically spelled "L'Ouverture." Many writers refer to him as "Toussaint." This makes sense, given that he took on the name "Louverture" only late in life. But even though his nemesis, Napoleon, gets the same treatment, it's still a bit jarring—imagine historians of the American Revolution writing about George and Thomas.

Louverture does have his monuments. An urn with dirt from the graveyard where he was buried sits in the Musée du Panthéon in Port-au-Prince, and there is a statue of him across from the National Palace. In 2001 President Jean-Bertrand Aristide built a monument commemorating Louverture's 1801 Constitution. After being expelled from the country in 2004 Aristide quoted the famous statement Louverture made when he was deported two centuries earlier: "In overthrowing me, they have uprooted the trunk of the liberty of the blacks; it will grow back because its roots are many and deep." Aristide then rephrased the quote to cast himself as a descendant of Louverture: "I declare in overthrowing me they have uprooted the trunk of the tree of peace, but it will grow back because the roots are Louverturian."

Haitian leaders are not the only ones who have claimed Louverture as a founder. When, in 1998, the French government commemorated the (final) abolition of slavery in the French colonies in 1848, Louverture's name was inscribed in a wall in the Panthéon, the temple of French national heroes. The gesture, urged by Caribbean activists in France, was an attempt to repudiate the actions of Bonaparte, who had Louverture imprisoned, and to argue that in his struggle against France Louverture embodied the Republic's true values. But can Louverture be a hero for France and Haiti at the same time?

In his acclaimed trilogy of novels about the Haitian Revolution—*All Souls' Rising*, *Master of the Crossroads* and *The Stone That the Builder Refused*—Madison Smartt Bell presented a riveting portrait of Louverture. The novels are deeply grounded in the historical sources of the period, no small feat given how extensive and often contradictory they are. But still hungry for the history of the Haitian Revolution—it has a way of grabbing you and holding on—Bell has now produced an excellent biography of Toussaint Louverture. For fans of the novels eager to read more, or for those daunted by the 2,000 pages of the trilogy, *Toussaint Louverture* provides a readable and engaging narrative, one likely to become the standard biography in English about this remarkable figure. (Full disclosure: I am thanked in the book's acknowledgments.)

Who was Louverture? For nearly two centuries, most writers portrayed him as a former slave who was freed by the Haitian Revolution itself. Then, in 1977, a group of historians published an article in Haiti showing that he was freed during the 1770s, managed a coffee plantation and briefly owned a slave. As a revolutionary leader, Louverture rarely evoked this chapter in his life, preferring to emphasize his connection to the former slaves who made up the majority in the colony. Indeed, he was a master at presenting himself as he wished to be seen, to the point that, as Bell writes, "during the first fifty years of his life, Toussaint walked so very softly that he left next to no visible tracks at all."

Bell, however, has tracked down a number of new sources located in private collections, and provides a very detailed account of Louverture's life before and after the revolution. It makes clear there is no way to fit Louverture easily into one social category. A former slave but also a former slave owner, he was revered as a leader of the black masses in Haiti but also as a trusted collaborator of former slave owners. He used force to win freedom but also to contain it. He managed the colony, writes Bell, "so as to prove to the whole European world that slavery was not necessary to the success of the plantation economy," and that "sugar and coffee production could be revived" but "with free labor." He rebuilt the plantation economy, but at a cost: He created a coercive labor regime with aspects of "raw authoritarianism," in which the former slaves who led the army threatened other former slaves into continuing to work on the plantations.

To sustain his regime, he skillfully navigated the political currents of the broader Atlantic. Within France, many were eager to reverse emancipation, but for a time they were kept at bay by its defenders, who celebrated Louverture for winning battles and maintaining order. But Louverture's independence alarmed many French officials. He negotiated trade deals with Britain and the United States, insuring that the colony had markets for its sugar and coffee and that his army had plenty of guns and ammunition. Congress kept trade open with Louverture even when the United States boycotted France, and John Adams deployed the Navy to support Louverture against his internal enemy, André Rigaud, in the nation's first military intervention in the Caribbean. The support was short-lived: Thomas Jefferson, elected in 1800, was very hostile to Louverture, seeing the revolution mainly as a dangerous example for slaves in the United States.

The Haitian Revolution was the first American experiment in large-scale emancipation, and Louverture—with no guidance from precedent and little support from the French government—managed the transition. He had to confront daunting questions: What, precisely, is freedom? How do you transform a society made by slavery into one that assures the dignity and freedom of former slaves? He was a pioneer not only because he created and consolidated freedom in the colony but also because the regime he created ultimately fell short in crucial ways. It was a failure shared by all those governors in the Americas who would follow in his footsteps.

Despite the lengths to which Louverture went to prove that the colony could

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be profitable without slavery, the French under Bonaparte ultimately tried to re-establish slavery, with disastrous results for the tens of thousands of French troops and many local fighters and civilians who died in the conflict that ensued. Bonaparte and his advisers believed they could isolate and overthrow Louverture and the other black leaders of the colony, and that the population would submit. They did not understand how deeply the revolution had transformed the colony. It had created a racially integrated army made up largely of ex-slaves, many of them officers; in one case, a former master served in a unit commanded by his former slave. On the plantations, laborers received payment, had some control over their work regimes and were able to carve out more time and space to cultivate food for themselves. Whatever their dissatisfaction with Louverture's regime, they knew it was an important advance over slavery. When the French threatened to take freedom away, many were ready to fight. Even after Louverture was captured in mid-1802, and after most of his major generals had capitulated to the French, small groups of insurgents kept fighting. French brutality and the specter of a return to slavery steadily expanded the resistance, which finally triumphed with the creation of Haiti in 1804.

The pace of change during the Haitian Revolution was remarkable. In a few years, slaves gained not only freedom but French citizenship. When France turned against emancipation, they created an independent state. In forging a new community, they dramatically expanded the meaning of freedom.

At the time of independence the majority of Haitians had been born in Africa. Historians have struggled with the question of how best to understand the actions and ideas of this extremely diverse African population, most of whom left no written documents behind. In thinking about this question, Bell at times leans, unwisely, on the term "tribal" as a way of describing the perspective of these exiled survivors of the Middle Passage. While there were communities of language and meaning forged out of common background in Africa—there was a massive influx of people from the Kongo region during the decades before the revolution, when up to 40,000 slaves arrived each year in the colony—they were linked by a range of religious, linguistic and political affinities that cannot be subsumed under the term "tribe." The revolution, meanwhile, created and sustained new identities among people on the move, and on the march, as they forged a life for themselves beyond slavery. They often identified themselves not as members of a particular group from Africa but as "Africans," joined by the experience of exile and oppression in the New World.

In contrast to most of the African-born protagonists of the Haitian Revolution—indeed, most of the ex-slaves who participated in it—Louverture left behind a large collection of documents. A few were written by his hand in a phonetic French, but most—including many letters and occasional pamphlets—were dictated by him to secretaries, and edited and re-edited as they read drafts back to him in sessions that often lasted through the night. Among them is a series of letters, well showcased in Bell's biography, in which Louverture explains how he negotiated with a group of rebels, giving us a partial glimpse of his skills at oratory and negotiation. Such writings, only a few of which are translated into English, represent a major intellectual and political legacy, and they drive Bell's chronicle of his rise and fall.

When the first biographies of Louverture were written in the nineteenth century, to write about Haiti was inevitably to intervene in the debate about the morality of slavery and the capacities of former slaves to be free. For those who supported slavery, the violence of the insurgent slaves—often exaggerated in atrocity stories that maintain their purchase to this day—and the situation in Haiti in the nineteenth century were represented in such a way as to argue that blacks needed to be contained by white domination.

Abolitionists—including Thomas Clarkson, Frederick Douglass and Victor Schoelcher, who wrote a biography of Louverture—told a different story, celebrating the victory in Haiti as part of a larger assault on slavery, arguing that the violence of the insurrection was generated by the violence of the institution it justly sought to destroy. Even for those who had ambiguous feelings about the revolution, Louverture stood as a clear refutation of ideas of black inferiority. Effusively celebrated by his allies, he also gained the grudging (if conveniently posthumous) admiration of the French general Pamphile de Lacroix, who had fought against him.

Louverture inspired the great Trinidadian writer and activist C.L.R. James, who in the 1930s first wrote a play and then a history about him. James's *The Black Jacobins* (1938) channeled Louverture into the present, celebrating his heroism but also examining the tragedies and ironies of his often dictatorial rule, using his story to trace the promises and pitfalls of struggles for independence. The book has become a classic in the literature of anticolonial revolts, inspiring many readers, including Bell.

In Haiti, meanwhile, several generations of scholars, from Pauléus Sannon and Edner Brutus to Roger Dorsinville and Claude Moïse, have written important works about Louverture, though unfortunately none have been translated into English. Louverture's choices are often evoked in discussions about the course of Haitian history. Sometimes he is favorably compared with those who followed, particularly Jean-Jacques Dessalines. Louverture distinguished himself for the way that he negotiated both with white planters and the United States and Britain. Dessalines, in contrast, famously ordered the massacre of most of the white inhabitants who remained in Haiti after independence in an episode described in bloody detail by Bell in both his novels and the biography.

Would Louverture have spared the whites? Would he have crafted a better relationship between Haiti and other nations? Perhaps. But when he fought against the

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French, Louverture was in many ways as resolute and merciless as Dessalines would be later, and had he survived the brutal and genocidal campaigns of the French during their final days in Saint-Domingue—when even loyal black soldiers were massacred simply for the color of their skin—he may have reacted as Dessalines did. And Dessalines, like Louverture, combined repression with negotiation, allowing some whites to stay in the country, naturalizing them, welcoming them into the black race when he decreed all Haitian citizens to be black.

After independence, many elites sought to continue Louverture's economic policy of maintaining some plantations, and the coffee economy boomed during certain periods, something usually forgotten in streamlined histories that portray Haiti's subsequent economic history as one of inexorable decline. Much of the population, however, for obvious reasons, preferred to own their own land rather than toil on plantations, and to grow food for themselves and for sale in local rather than international markets. Had it not been for the relentless hostility of other countries, notably the crippling indemnity levied by France in 1825 in return for diplomatic recognition, these economic alternatives might have proved sustainable.

Today it is difficult to find a mention of Haiti in the American press without the phrase "the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere" tacked on like some kind of dogged trademark. But as Haitian architect Patrick Delatour noted in a conference last year, when Haiti was a colony most of its capital was invested in the bodies of its slaves. When Haitians refused their status as property and forced France to accept them as people, they also transformed a rich colony into a poor nation. Was it their fault that the two went together?

The autonomy and dignity that Louverture sought to achieve, in his sometimes troubling way, is still more of a promise than a reality in Haiti. To understand why, we need to grapple with both the successes and failures of Haiti's leaders and the intensity of the forces arrayed against them, much as Bell does with Louverture. That we still need to go back 200 years to find a way to look forward is in some sense a tragedy. But it is also, as Bell suggests, an opportunity and a responsibility.

When Louverture's jailers discovered his corpse in April 1803, they found a piece of paper tucked into the bandanna wrapped around his head. On it was a message. Louverture complained of being arbitrarily arrested and sent off "as naked as an earthworm," with no chance to hear the charges against him or to respond: "Is it not to cut off someone's legs and order him to walk? Is it not to cut out his tongue and tell him to talk? Is it not to bury a man alive?" Placing the paper on his forehead, writes Bell, "was a magical act: a plea to the unseen world for justice." If Louverture's plea for justice for himself is finally starting to be answered, his denunciation is as relevant today as ever. ■

ART

A Mannerist in Madrid

ARTHUR C. DANTO

On September 24, 1845, John Ruskin wrote an unguardedly rapturous letter to his father from Venice, describing the momentous impact on him of the paintings he had seen earlier that day by Jacopo Tintoretto, at the Scuola di San Rocco:

> I have had a draught of pictures today enough to drown me. I never was so utterly crushed to the earth before any human intellect as I was today, before Tintoret. Just be so good as to take my list of painters, & put him in the school of Art at the top, top, top of everything, with a great big black line underneath him to stop him off from everybody—and put him in the school of Intellect, next after Michael Angelo. He took it so entirely out of me today that I could do nothing at last but lie on a bench & laugh.... M Angelo himself cannot hurl figures into space as he does, nor did M Angelo ever paint space itself which would not look like a nutshell beside Tintoret's.

Tintoretto is hardly a household name, and it certainly holds little of the aura that Ruskin's effusive language implies, especially not in comparison with that of Michelangelo. Part of the reason is that most of Tintoretto's work is permanently installed on the walls and ceilings of Venice, where the artist spent his entire life. That is why no one would have been able to form much of a picture of his staggering artistic achievement unless they had spent some time in Venice. "I had always thought him a good & clever & forcible painter," Ruskin wrote, "but I had not the smallest notion of his enormous powers.... It is marvelously lucky I came here, or I might have disgraced myself for ever by speaking slightly of Tintoret. I look upon him now, though as a less perfect painter, yet as a far greater man than Titian." But Titian and Michelangelo, along with Leonardo and Raphael, are widely considered the first-magnitude stars of Italian art. Who other than Ruskin would have placed Tintoretto among or even above them?

One difficulty is that Tintoretto has no pivotal place in the grand art-historical narratives most of us carry with us when we visit museums. He was, unlike his fellow Venetian, Titian, not really part of the Renaissance; he belonged instead to the Mannerist era—a period still dimly understood—that came just after it, and that Tintoretto helped shape. Consider, for example, the *Annunciation* in San Rocco, which especially moved Ruskin. In Renaissance painting, the annunciate Virgin is depicted as receiving in sweet resignation the news of her tremendous fate, from an angel who acknowledges her purity by kneeling in her presence. That is how Fra Angelico, for example, painted the hushed scene. Tintoretto's, by contrast, is pure noisy wildness, as the angel sweeps into the Virgin's space with the force and clatter of a compact tornado. Ruskin's description matches its intensity:

> Not in the meek reception of the adoring messenger, but startled by the rush of his horizontal and rattling wings, the Virgin sits...not by the green pasture of the restored soul, but houseless, under the shelter of a palace vestibule ruined and abandoned, with the noise of the axe and the hammer in her ears, and the tumult of a city round about her desolation.

Nothing in Renaissance art would have prepared anyone for a work like this. No one in Italy would have imagined setting Mary in the midst of an urban ruin, of exposed brick and crumbling stucco, emblematizing a fallen world, with the messenger implicitly having to shout his message in order to be heard above the ruckus of his entry. Work after work in Tintoretto's decorative program for the Scuola, which bears comparison in every respect with that of Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel, reinvents and refreshes stories that everyone in Venice knew, crowding them with details that amplify the joys and sufferings that had perhaps lost their edge through overrepresentation. Ruskin draws attention to

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the presence, within sight of the agony on the cross, of "an ass in the distance, feeding on the remains of strewed palm leaves." When Auden wrote "About suffering they were never wrong,/The Old Masters," he was thinking of the Mannerists.

Tintoretto addresses each motif as if it had never been painted before. Yet for all his inventiveness, his unbridled fantasy and the fierce energy of his execution, he does not really anticipate the Baroque style, which emerged after his death. His work has an eccentricity and the arcane sophistication that is the signature of Mannerism. The purpose of Baroque was to restore faith and counter the Reformation. None of that belonged to the Mannerist agenda.

All this may help explain why there has not been a monograph exhibition of Tintoretto's work since 1937, held at the Palazzo Pasaro in Venice—the one city in the world that has no need for such a show, because of its near monopoly of his prodigious output. A show of his work elsewhere seemed neither practical nor imperative. So the kind of experience Ruskin underwent has been among the unanticipated rewards of a trip to Venice. One of the main contributions of the inspired exhibition of his work at the Museo del Prado in Madrid (until May 13) is that it makes it clear that Tintoretto really is as exciting as Ruskin made him sound. It is a beautiful and unforgettable show, and a

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Self-Portrait **(circa 1547)**

reason to visit Madrid this spring, in case you needed a reason.

The exhibition is installed in the long central gallery of the Prado's upper floor, temporarily divided into a succession of spaces, each given over to a stage in the artist's unfolding career. It is not a dauntingly large show but a selective one, with each painting given enough space so that one can, without exhaustion, look deeply at the work in each of the galleries. Just before entering the first of the spaces, we are confronted by a small, intense self-portrait of Tintoretto as a young man, in which the artist turns his head toward us. He looks as if distracted from a dream by our presence. In truth, of course, Tintoretto would have been studying his own features when he painted it, and there would have been no room in his field of sight for anything but himself. We thus see him as he saw himself, putting us inside and outside his gaze at once—so when we round the wall and enter the first gallery behind it, it is like entering into the artist's mind and occupying his vision from within.

The first work we encounter, on the wall that faces us once inside, is itself like a dream. It shows *Christ Among the Doctors*—a picture in which ponderous books are being opened and pored over, as scholars hunt down the passages the youthful Jesus cites. It is a typical Mannerist composition in that the central figure—Jesus—is seated, almost enthroned, in the far distance, discoursing animatedly, sending the doctors back to their heavy volumes to check his references. They look over one another's shoulders, pointing in excitement to this or that text. Jesus has caused, through his rabbinical erudition, an almost hallucinatory scene of bibliomania. The adolescent prophet displays knowledge beyond that commanded by the bearded Michelangelesque pundits. Whole choruses of readers spill up and down the stairs that lead up and back to Jesus, distinguished by a halo too big for his youthful head, and fill the podiums on either side of his chair. A woman standing at the left surveys the unbecoming tumult, and the whole scene is energized by Tintoretto's typical raw and urgent brushwork, which initially put off his critics, who demanded greater finish.

Here, for example, is his Florentine contemporary Giorgio Vasari on Tintoretto's *Last Judgment*:

> As to the matter of painting, he may be said to possess the most singular, capricious, and determined hand, with the boldest, most extravagant, and obstinate brain, that has ever yet belonged to the domain of that art. Of this there is sufficient proof in his works, and in the fantastic composition of his stories, which are altogether different from and contrary to the usages of other painters; nay, he has been more extravagant in some of his more recent inventions, and in those strange caprices of his fancy, which he has executed almost by hap-hazard and without design; insomuch that one might suppose, he well nigh desired to show that the art is but a jest.

One is shocked to find so early an accu-

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NATIONAL

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sation that a piece of art must be a joke. The operative word is "design" (*disegno*), which was the mark of Florentine probity in painting. Since Vasari, an upholder of Florentine aesthetics, finds it lacking everywhere in Tintoretto, he cannot take this painting seriously. But it is inconceivable that an Italian artist of the era could have painted so "fearful and terrible" a subject, as Vasari described it, in jest. The likelier explanation is that Vasari was applying critical criteria appropriate to a style of painting that Tintoretto had already gone beyond. One of our own contemporaries has described him as a "slow starter," but *Christ Among the Doctors*, painted around 1542, when Tintoretto was still in his 20s, had broken new artistic ground as part of a convulsion that was sweeping the European vanguard, from Bruegel, Cranach and Dürer in the north to El Greco, late Raphael and Michelangelo, Pontormo and Bronzino in the south. It is to Ruskin's credit that he caught on instantly, though Mannerism had not yet been identified by art historians:

> Away he goes, heaping host on host, multitudes that no man can number—never pausing, never repeating himself—clouds & whirlwinds & fire & infinity of earth & sea, all alike to him—and then the noble fellow has put in Titian, on horseback at one side of one of his great pictures, and himself at the other.

In the same gallery as *Christ Among the Doctors* is *Conversion of Saint Paul*, which exemplifies the spirit that Ruskin succeeds in capturing. "Tintoretto raises the high drama of the episode to the level of pandemonium," the catalogue entry reads, and one has the distinct impression that not only Paul but the world itself has been convulsed, with riders flung from their horses in every direction and the riderless horses sent flailing in surging waters, as Jesus opens the heavens and a single horseman gallops over a bridge and out of the picture under a fluttering pink banner, bearing the news to mankind. Paul, under the physical impact of his vision, lies writhing, like Laocoön, amid stones on the ground, picked out by the uncanny light. There were many picturings of Paul's conversion in the Renaissance, but Tintoretto translated inner turbulence into external chaos, much as he had externalized Mary's trepidations as the shattering of reality itself.

As for pictorial jokes, the show has several of them, but we always know when we are looking at one, as in the raunchy *Venus and Mars Surprised by Vulcan*. Venus lies demurely in the love-tossed bedsheets, as her entirely unsuitable husband, Vulcan, lifts one of the corners, as if performing a gynecological inspection. The sight of his wife's sex distracts him from the yipping of a tiny spaniel, barking at Mars, hiding under another bed, who must have worn his helmet even when making love. Venus's child, Eros, snoozes through the chaos, holding a clutch of arrows. A slyer, subtler joke by far animates *Saint George, Saint Louis, and the Princess*. In the canonical representation of Saint George, he is shown, mounted and armored, slaying the dragon that terrorized a community that was required to sacrifice its members to the monster's appetite. The saint appeared just in time to rescue the princess, whose turn it was to be eaten. There is in fact a wonderful painting in this show of this mythical triangle, in which the male protects the female from the monster. In the present painting, however, which has the edginess of a feminist joke, the princess has taken matters into her own hands. She is shown, with the dragon between her legs, gazing at her own lovely likeness in Saint George's polished armor. The dragon lashes his scaly tail in pleasure as the princess rests one hand on its wing, holding a crop with the other. George spreads his arms in a gesture of male helplessness, as his lance lies broken on the ground. The princess and the dragon seem entirely happy with the arrangement, while Saint Louis casts his eyes demurely down at the shattered weapon and the smug reptile. It was obviously painted with a sophisticated Venetian audience in mind.

But Mannerism's audience was sophisticated: It got the point, and the paintings are planted with clues that flattered its cognitive prowess. We, as part of that audience, know things to which the personages in the painting are blind, and comedy and tragedy get mixed. Judas sits at the table in two of the Last Suppers, his back to us, hiding a sack of coins behind him. Nobody seated at the table—only we outside the picture—is aware that he has been bribed. In the great *Susannah and the Elders*, the outstanding painting in the show, beautiful Susannah sits nude in the garden, gazing deeply at her image in the mirror propped up in front of her, while the whiskered elders, peering from both sides of a hedge of roses, gaze at her lush nakedness. We, hypocrite viewers, gaze at the gazers, condemning the prurient elders while relishing what they ravish with their eyes—until, in a sudden onset of consciousness, we realize that we have been trapped by the same delicious vision, enjoying what we condemn them for enjoying. Ruskin's inclination to laugh was a visceral tribute not to humor but delight at the effortless excess of power and mastery, of impulse and improvisation, and the scintillation of Tintoretto's pictorial invention. There is no artist like him! ■

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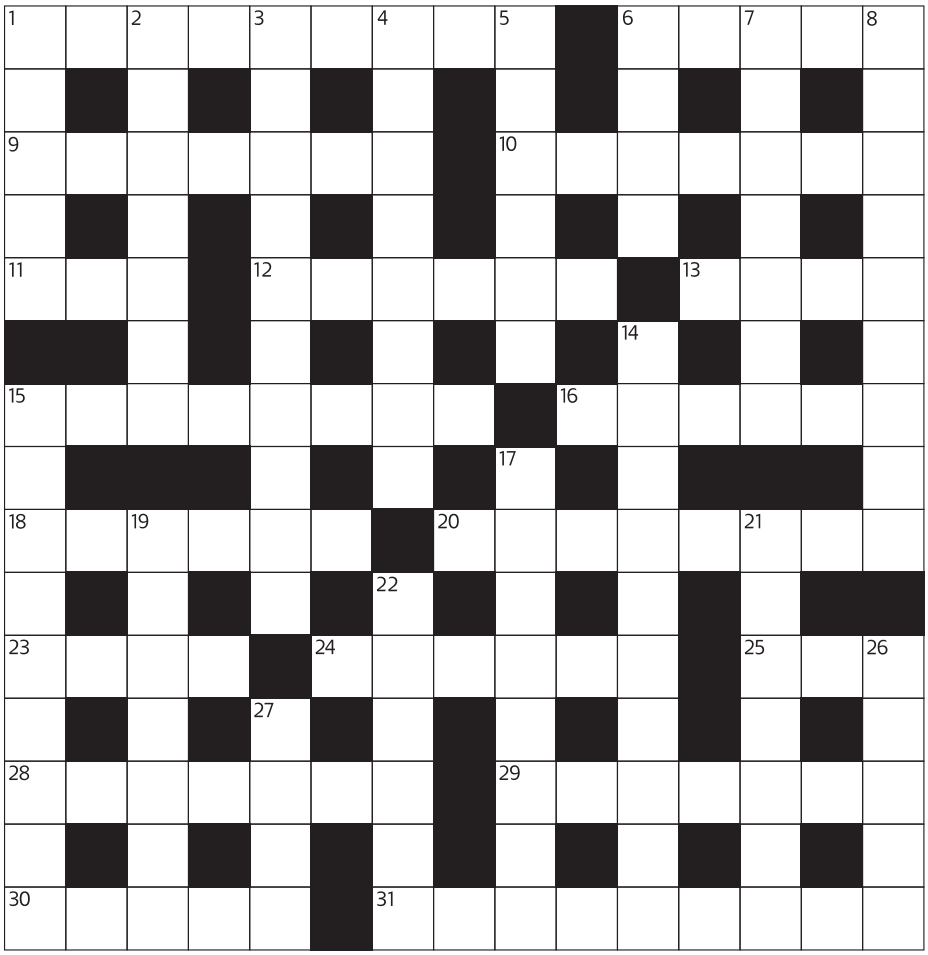
PUZZLE NO. 3077

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 In which people suffer things gladly. (9)

6 See 12

9 A relative description of someone who's very fussy. (7)

10 and **11** See 12

12, 25, 30, 18, 10, 6, 14 down and **11** and **15** across Said in order to get something started? (3,3,3,5,3,3,3,4,5, 2,3,5,3,4,2,2)

13 That awful Nero certainly didn't have any equals! (4)

15 See 12

16 Being good in Paris is a bad way to show a little growth. (6)

18 See 12

20 All shaven around what is associated with a good cry minus a hundred—but it's easy to get your foot in with it. (8)

23 Take your turn for ordering little drinks back. (4)

24 One may show up at your door, or just give you a ring. (6)

25 See 12

28 Evidently yours truly is supposed to tag people, and took things in—really ape! (7)

29 Is a nob for 16? You might say so! (7)

30 See 12

31 Walk carefully—you might consider it cat's-paw. (9)

DOWN

1 The third letter in Athens might be altered to provide molten material. (5)

2 Where Hitler hung out for a while, on display with lisp and a U-boat. (7)

3 What happened when they did the twist? (10)

4 You wouldn't want to run into them while aboard—or abroad! (8)

5 Often made in meeting Mr. Thumb coming up with one on. (6)

6 What an obedient person does with a line going to two points. (4)

7 Puts up the picture again, because she rang, being so troubled. (7)

8 A period in declared war, Diana showing up for the most part. (9)

14 See 12

15 In bad times, fish for blind devotion. (9)

17 Beats badly, though she sort of calls for it. (8)

19 You may have one about a tearjerker surrounding an important ratio of it. (7)

21 This gets on to the bad air inside part of Canada. (7)

22 End the quarrel, but this might be spoiled with an energetic kiss. (4-2)

26 The Irish rebel met me in disguise here. (5)

27 Sounds much like change here. (4)

PUZZLED? No more cross words. If you don't see why "Lures" are "Ground Rules" send for those of Mr. Lewis to: Puzzled, The Nation, 33 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003, or access our website at www.thenation.com/about/crossword.mhtml.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3076

U	N	D	E	R	S	T	A	N	D		A	B	L	E
P		E		E		E		I		B		R		V
H	O	T	S	P	U	R		G	L	U	C	O	S	E
O		R		R		R		G		L		W		N
L	E	A	V	E	W	E	L	L	A	L	O	N	E	
S		C		S		N		E		H		I		T
T	E	T	H	E	R	E	D		V	E	N	E	E	R
E				N						A				A
R	I	G	H	T	S		T	R	A	D	E	S	I	N
S		H		A		B		U		E		T		S
	F	E	A	T	H	E	R	B	E	D	D	I	N	G
A		R		I		L		D		N		M		R
R	A	K	E	O	F	F		O	V	E	R	U	S	E
C		I		N		R		W		S		L		S
S	O	N	G		G	Y	M	N	A	S	T	I	C	S

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Let's face it, no matter how good we think we are in bed, the reality is most middle aged men and seniors have room for improvement. Just ask their wives. No fault of their own, the fact is that the quality and fullness of erections often decrease as men age. And it's the rare man over 45, who can truthfully admit he can perform like he did when he was 25.

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Despite ridiculous claims to the contrary, there is no known ingestible product to alter the size or shape of your penis. But there is a way you can enjoy sexual health without embarrassing visits to the doctor, expensive prescriptions, painful injections into the penis, or surgical procedures. Androvin™ is a remarkable, once-a-day, non-prescription supplement that is guaranteed to increase your sexual desire and performance. And unlike prescription drugs that must be timed with precision and taken before a sexual encounter, all-natural Androvin—simply taken once daily—is designed to help maintain blood flow for firmer, fuller erections for as long as it's used. You're always ready to go!

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Certain powerful ingredients in Androvin, known as vasodilators, help to relax smooth muscle tissue in the pelvic region. The result? An increased amount of blood flows freely to the penis, to create a fuller, harder, longer-lasting erection.

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HERE'S WHAT SOME OF THE SATISFIED ANDROVIN™ USERS ARE SAYING:

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"I call it, the Viagra®* replacement of the 21st century. I have used prescription drugs in the past to treat my erectile dysfunction; but now, I rely on Androvin. It's so much more convenient to get, less money and works just as well." **Brian – Naples, FL**

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- The majority of over-the-counter sexual dysfunction products have little/no efficacy.
- Androvin's effective formula can allow healthy men, as well as those suffering from impotence, to obtain full erections after one or more dosages, along with increased libido and improved satisfaction.
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QC™3 headphones

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